

The Etymology of the Old High German Weak Verb

Volume I

by

Christopher Gordon Bailey

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of the origin and development of the weak verbs of Old High German.

The problem surrounding the origin and early development of the preterite tense of the weak verb in Germanic, and which as yet lacks any satisfactory explanation, is outlined in the Introduction. Following this, it is hypothesized that, if a relative chronology can be established for the weak verbs, it may be possible to arrive at important insights concerning their overall pattern of development, from the Germanic stratum through to Old High German. It is also hoped that such a chronologically organized data-set may succeed in isolating a key group of primary or Pre-Germanic verbs which may represent the earliest group of verbs belonging to the weak formation. It is further hypothesized that these and other early groups provided patterns for the analogical extension and growth of the weak verbs as an inflectional category. Important evidence concerning the early stages and analogical growth patterns of the weak verbs can, it is hoped, be gained through a morpho-semantic analysis of these early groups.

Methodologically, the verbs are first analysed according to the linguistic period of their formation, and thus assigned to a particular stratum within the development of the Old High German language. Following this, the verbs of the younger strata are classified according to the method of their derivation. Verbs which can be thus classified are then further analysed on the basis of morphological and semantic factors occurring within, or reflecting, the derivational process. In this way the relative size and importance of the different strata, as well as the various derivational groups of the Old High German weak verbs, can be demonstrated.

This research provides the necessary groundwork for a re-evaluation of the theories regarding the origin of the weak preterite; the word formation patterns of prehistoric stages of Germanic and their extension into a comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Germanic weak verb.

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Declaration

No Portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

Signed: .

Date:

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ABBREVIATIONS

Language		Toch.A	Tocharian A
Avest.	Avestan	Toch.B	Tocharian B
Corn.	Cornish		
Dan.	Danish	General	
Engl.	English	Â	Âtmanepada
Finn.	Finnish	acc.	accusative
Fr.	French	adj.	adjective
Gaul.	Gaulish	adv.	adverb
Gmc	Germanic	aor.	aorist
Hebr.	Hebrew	dat.	dative
IE	Indo-European	d.h.	das heißt
Ir.	Irish	dial.	dialect
Lith.	Lithuanian	d.i.	das ist
LG	Low German	eigent.	eigentlich
MHG	Middle High German	fem.	feminine
Mid.Engl.	Middle English	gen.	genitive
Mlr.	Middle Irish	impers.	impersonal
MDu.	Middle Dutch	indic.	indicative
MLG	Middle Low German	instrum.	instrumental
Mod.Engl.	Modern English	intrans.	intransitive
NHG	New High German	masc.	masculine
Norw.	Norwegian	med.	medieval
OCS	Old Church Slavonic	mid.	middle
ODan.	Old Danish	mod.	modern
OE	Old English	neut.	neuter
OLF	Old Low Franconian	nom.	nominative
OFr.	Old French	P	Parasmaipada
OFs.	Old Frisian	part.	participle
OHG	Old High German	pass.	passive
OIr.	Old Irish	perf.	perfective
ON	Old Norse	pl.	plural
OPers.	Old Persian	prep.	preposition
OPruss.	Old Prussian	pres.	present
OS	Old Saxon	pret.	preterite
OSwed.	Old Swedish	pret.-pres.	preterite-present verb
OWelsh	Old Welsh	reflex.	reflexive
Pers.	Persian	redpl.	reduplicating
Run.	Runic Norse	sg.	singular
Run. Dan.	Runic Danish	st.	strong
Run. Swed.	Runic Swedish	st. vb	strong verb
Russ.	Russian	subst.	substantive
SCr.	Serbo-Croat	trans.	transitive
Slovak.	Slovakian	vb	verb
Swed.	Swedish	wk	weak
Toch.	Tocharian	wk. vb	weak verb

SYMBOLS

*	Reconstructed form
<	Derives from
>	From which is derived
√	Hypothetical IE root

1.

INTRODUCTION

1.1. General

This thesis is an examination of the etymology of the Old High German (OHG) weak verbs. As such, it is intended to form part of a larger research project which will involve parallel studies made in each of the earliest historically attested forms of the languages of the Germanic group, that is OHG, Old Saxon, Old Frisian, Old English, Old Norse and Gothic. A unified, pan-Gmc work such as this will, it is hoped, be able to provide accurate, comprehensive and reliable data on the evolution and growth of the weak verb in Germanic as well as its overall development throughout each of the various daughter languages and groups. Indeed, corresponding research has already been carried out in the field of Gothic weak verb etymology by Skinner (1994) which is commented on further in 1.3. and the same author is also currently working on a similar project looking at the etymology of the ON weak verbs. Research projects involving Old Saxon and Old English are expected to follow in the very near future. When completed this pan-Gmc project will be able to complement Seebold's (1970) etymological study made into the Germanic strong verbs, and thus enable a comprehensive picture to be gleaned of the entire verbal system of Gmc, incorporating both the strong and weak inflections.

The weak verb is of especial importance as it is found in all the Germanic languages and can be traced back to Primitive Germanic, the common parent language from which all the modern Germanic languages ultimately derive. The weak verbs are also still productive. Indeed, they are the only productive method of forming new verbs in all the modern languages of the Germanic group. However, despite the importance of the weak verbs to the field of Germanic philology and despite the fact that the subject has already received considerable research, no satisfactory explanation for the origin of the weak verbs as yet exists. Despite attempts to connect them with the Celtic *t*-preterite, they remain a formation unique to Germanic. Neither has a proper synoptic study been carried out of their development either in OHG, or in the prehistoric periods, or strata, marking the diachronic development of Primitive Germanic into its daughter languages. Consequently, any etymological investigation into the history of the weak verb system in Germanic will inevitably encounter the two important yet unresolved problems concerning the origin and pattern of

development of the weak verbs. These two problems will be addressed in this thesis.

The approach taken in this thesis to the etymology of the weak verb is significantly different to that of any previous etymological study. Traditional works on Gmc etymology usually derive a particular lexical item from a hypothetical Indo-European root. The term “root”, it should be noted, is used to represent, in terms of lexical morphology, the derivationally and morphologically most simple or elementary form - that is the ultimately irreducible form of a given word. Kluge’s *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*¹ which represents a typical example of such a root-based approach, will thus derive a NHG lexeme such as *weiß* “white” from a posited IE root **kweit-* “to shine, be bright”² (via a reconstructed Gmc adjective **hweitaz*). Such an approach is justified by the fact that IE was a language with no free forms and no paradigms in the modern sense³. However, the weak verbs are by their very nature derived and consequently an approach which is confined to root etymologies will be inadequate for the purpose. Furthermore, root-based etymological studies remain a vestige of the nineteenth century research effort to prove that Germanic was a member of the IE language group, and to show how much of it could be interpreted as IE. This is in contrast to modern IE studies which work not from IE (or reconstructed IE roots) forwards, but backwards from the attested forms, that is from what is known to what is unknown.

Moreover, traditional root-based approaches, while concentrating on etymologically “interesting” lexemes which can be traced back to a posited IE root, have usually ignored lexemes whose derivation seems obvious. As a result, those lexemes whose derivational relationship to another lexeme is clearly visible - in other words lexemes with a transparent derivational morphology - are often omitted in such works. Hence, it is not surprising to find that sufficient attention is frequently not paid to seemingly obvious derivations from nouns, adjectives and other verbs where the derivational process is clearly transparent morphologically. Furthermore, works on etymology such as Kluge’s (1989) which take NHG as their starting point, have the added disadvantage that many verbs which existed in OHG or in earlier strata have subsequently become lost to the lexicon, thus excluding them from a place in a NHG etymological dictionary. To this can be added the fact that in traditional etymological works the decision as to whether to include or exclude a particular lexical entry often

¹ (22nd edition ed. Seebold 1989).

² Kluge (1989: 785).

³ Meillet (1964: 195f.).

rests solely on how important or widespread a status it has. Thus a number of rare, dialectal or marginalized lexemes will frequently fail to find a place in such studies. A further disadvantage of works which take NHG as their starting point arises from the fact that the sheer number of more recent or “modern” formations which they contain obscures the early history of the weak verbs, the number of ancient formations appearing small and insignificant in comparison to these later formations.

It should also be stated at this point that, although comparative grammars such as Krahe and Meid’s *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* (1969: Vol. III) discuss in great detail the derivational morphology of weak verbs, recognising and commenting on the existence of certain patterns and derivational groups, they do not normally support their findings with full-scale, and therefore accurate, figures. An important exception to this, however, is provided in respect to the etymology of the Gmc strong verbs by Seebold (1970), whose approach is discussed in 1.3.

As a result of factors such as these, it should be clear that traditional approaches, although detailed, have the major disadvantage that they fail to yield complete, and therefore accurate, data necessary for an effective analysis of the origin and development of the OHG weak verb.

This work, however, aims to tackle such shortcomings by examining the OHG weak verbs in such a way that more complete and, it is hoped, more accurate data can be attained concerning their derivational profiles and relative chronology. In other words, the objective will be to examine the OHG data as comprehensively as possible, which therefore means that every attested OHG weak verb will be examined⁴. The method used to achieve this objective is one which has already been tested on Gothic⁵, and it can now be outlined in more detail below.

An etymology or derivational profile is ascertained for each individual verb, the aim being to investigate the derivational and etymological relations *within the language* before turning attention to reconstructed forms. This is important as an exhaustive *synchronic* analysis is necessary before a reliable *diachronic* analysis can be undertaken. A method of data collection and analysis which includes all verbs has the considerable merit that more reliable figures can be arrived at concerning the relative size and importance of the various, distinct derivational groupings. This is particularly significant for those derivational groups which, as has been mentioned above, have traditionally been

⁴ This sum also includes a small number of verbs which, although not actually attested in OHG, can be reliably reconstructed.

⁵ Skinner (1994).

neglected owing to the fact that their method of derivation seems obvious - such as morphologically transparent denominative and deadjectival formations and verbs derived by prefixation. Such derivational groups are fundamental to an understanding of the development of the OHG weak verbs as a whole, not only because accurate and extensive data have not hitherto been collected, but also on account of the fact that they make up the vast majority of weak verbs in OHG. Furthermore, the size of the sample, 4685 verbs are contained in the data section, will compensate for any inadequacies inherent in using secondary sources.

In addition to its derivational profile, the period of formation is also ascertained for each verb. Thus, the OHG weak verbs can be stratified diachronically into the various periods which mark the development of the weak verb from Gmc to OHG, in other words a relative chronology of all the OHG weak verbs can be obtained. Such an analysis involving the derivational profile and chronology of every weak verb should therefore enable a greater understanding of the origin and diachronic development of the weak verb to be gained than previous research has allowed for. Such an approach which assigns the weak verbs to chronological strata and examines them on the basis of their stratification has previously been taken by Bammesberger (1986), who summarizes the importance of this approach: “Wenn ein neuer Versuch zum Ursprung des schwachen Präteritums nicht von vorneherein zum Scheitern verurteilt sein soll, dann muß er sich auch rein methodisch von den Vorläufern unterscheiden. Da vermutlich wirklich alle Möglichkeiten in irgendeinerweise erprobt wurden, kann die Neuerung nur darin bestehen, daß man versucht, chronologische Schichten bei den schwachen Präteritalbildungen herauszuschälen”⁶. The present work, however, aims to take such an approach further by stratifying and subjecting to analysis more complete and therefore accurate data.

As has been mentioned above, this project is conceived as part of a greater overall project involving cognate studies made in each of the earliest historically attested forms of the languages of the Gmc group which can then be unified into a coherent whole, in other words an all-embracing etymological dictionary of the Gmc weak verb. This is important as OHG is not an isolated language representing the sole surviving descendant of the parent Germanic language, but one which has a close relationship to the other, cognate daughter languages of Gmc. Indeed, a significant part of the primitive Gmc lexicon which may not have survived into OHG may have been realized in these cognate

⁶ Bammesberger (1986: 70). Bammesberger’s work on the Gmc weak verbs will be discussed in more detail in 1.2.

languages, and a complete, comprehensive reconstruction of the primitive Gmc weak verb system must therefore involve data from all daughter languages. As previously stated, such a unified, pan-Gmc work will comprise accurate and reliable data on the evolution and growth of the weak verb in Gmc as well as its overall development in the various daughter languages and groups.

In summary, then, this thesis offers a different approach to that found in previous research by systematically examining the OHG weak verbs in their entirety, each verb being considered as both reflecting and forming part of a coherent and much larger whole. Such an examination has no preconceived notion as to the importance of verbal categories: these will emerge from the data. It thereby hopes to produce a clearer and more complete set of statistics than has hitherto been achieved in respect to the derivational grouping and stratification of these verbs. This is in contradistinction to traditional methods of research which tend to concentrate on the etymology of individual verbs, these verbs often being examined in isolation to each other.

Having briefly outlined the procedure to be taken in this thesis, summarising the merits and advantages arising from such a systematic and exhaustive method of data collection and analysis, we shall now turn to the issue of what an approach of this nature may yield in the way of results, and how it may therefore contribute towards a greater understanding of the weak verb in OHG and Gmc. Before this, however, it will be necessary to discuss in more detail the importance of the Gmc weak verb to the field of Gmc philology and derivational morphology, together with the problems which it poses.

1.2. The Germanic Weak Verb

As mentioned in section 1.1., the weak verbs are of great importance and interest as they are the only productive method of forming new verbs in all the modern languages of the Germanic group, in other words they represent an open set. This is in contrast to the strong verbs which are no longer productive and thus a closed set⁷. Furthermore, while the weak verbs make up the overwhelming majority of verbs in all the modern Gmc languages, the strong inflection is, by comparison confined to between 150-180 verbs in NHG⁸. Indeed, throughout the history of the Gmc languages significant numbers of

⁷ Occasionally, though, certain verbs may take on a strong inflection by analogy, such as Modern English (American) *dive*, strong preterite *dove* from the earlier weak preterite *dived*, but this phenomenon is relatively rare.

⁸ Duden (1973 ed. Greber: 126-135).

strong verbs have converted to the weak inflection, conforming analogically to the larger and more productive weak group. This fact is all the more important as it would also have been possible for the opposite development to have occurred, i.e. for the strong verbs to have increased in size and productivity and for the weak verbs to have become a marginalized, closed set no longer productive.

The weak verbs are also largely secondary, deriving from verbs, adjectives, substantives and, very occasionally, adverbs. This reflects the productivity already referred to of the weak verbs - any new verb derived in any of the modern Gmc languages from another lexical item will automatically receive the weak inflection. This highly productive, secondary nature of the weak verbs is in sharp contrast to the strong verbs, which are, as previously mentioned, both no longer productive and almost exclusively primary, that is the overwhelming majority cannot be shown to derive from other existing lexemes in Gmc.

In addition to this the strong verbs also tend to express basic, everyday concepts such as “to take”, “to sit”, “to sleep”, thus constituting a great deal of the elementary or core vocabulary of German. As a result of this they naturally have a greater text frequency, that is an individual strong verb will most likely appear more frequently in a corpus than will a weak verb⁹.

Although primary in terms of Gmc derivational morphology, the strong verbs are normally related to corresponding verbs in languages belonging to the other IE groups outside Gmc. Thus, for example, the Gmc strong verb **beranan* “to carry, bear” has related forms in: OIr. *biru*, *berim*; Latin *ferre*; Greek *φέρω*; OCS *bera*, *birati*; Lithuanian *berti*; Albanian *bie*; Armenian *berem*; Sanskrit *barati*; Avestan *bar-*; Tocharian *pär-*¹⁰. Such verbs are clearly related, representing inherited forms which derive from an ancient IE verb. Thus, by applying the methods of historical reconstruction to be discussed in Chapter Two, we can reconstruct a primitive IE root $\sqrt{*bher-}$ “to carry, bear, bring” which serves as a convenient formula by which the attested forms can be related to each other.

Furthermore, the preterite of the strong verbs has a clearly defined origin. The traditional theory is that it represents a blend of the IE perfect plus the IE aorist¹¹. The IE perfect was formed by reduplicating the initial syllable of the verb stem. In verb stems where a consonant occupied the initial position, this consonant along with the vowel *e* was prefixed to the verb stem. In verb stems

⁹ West (III 1993: 71-74).

¹⁰ Buck (1949: 707).

¹¹ Thus Meillet (1912: 201), Meid (1971: 16).

where a vowel occupied the initial position, the reduplication process involved prefixing to the verb stem the vowel *e* which then became contracted with the initial vowel of the stem resulting in lengthening of this initial vowel¹². The reduplication process occurring in the IE perfect can be seen in Greek γέγραφα “I have written” beside γράφω “I write”, Sanskrit *papaca* “I have cooked” beside *pacāmi* “I cook”, Latin *momordi* “I have bitten” beside *mordeo* “I bite”¹³. The IE perfect was also formed with a specific set of personal endings not found outside the perfect and attached to the stem without any thematic vowel, i.e. IE *-a 1st sg., *-tha 2nd sg., *-e 3rd sg. etc.¹⁴. Finally, the root syllable of the IE perfect forms normally took the o-grade of ablaut in the singular, and the zero-grade of ablaut in all other persons¹⁵, e.g. Greek λέλοιπα o-grade “I have left, abandoned” beside λείπω e-grade “I leave, abandon”, Sanskrit *cakara*, *cakāra* (*c* palatalized from an earlier form **kekorma*) o-grade “I have made, done”, *cakrma* (< **kekṛma*) zero-grade “we have made, done” beside *karomi* “I make, do”. The IE aorist was formed with the secondary endings (both with or without a thematic vowel) and, usually, the zero-grade of ablaut in the root syllable. The aorist was also formed with an augment, IE **e-*, but as augmented forms are found only in Sanskrit, Greek, Phrygian and Armenian¹⁶, there being no trace of such an augment in Gmc, it must be seen as a later innovation restricted to the south-eastern dialects of IE. Furthermore, although typically augmented in Sanskrit, an unaugmented aorist form appears in the injunctive of Vedic Sanskrit¹⁷.

The reduplication of the IE perfect has parallels in the Gmc strong verbs of class VII, the reduplicating class, while the strong verbs of classes I-V systematically exploited, in place of this reduplication, the ablaut alternation of the IE perfect so as to develop an ordered system of ablaut serving as the distinguishing marker between present, preterite singular and preterite plural¹⁸. The ablaut series of the Gmc strong verbs are in reality, however, more complex than this, with strong verbs of classes IV and V having *ē*, the extended grade of *e*, in their preterite plural rather than the expected zero-grade, and class VI strong verbs exploiting a separate ablaut series, *a* - *ō* - *ō* - *a*, to distinguish

¹² Szemerényi (1990: 282), Krahe (II 1963: 83)

¹³ The *o* appearing in the reduplication syllable in this last Latin example is the result of assimilation (Szemerényi 1990: 313).

¹⁴ Szemerényi (1990: 259).

¹⁵ Szemerényi (1990: 312-315).

¹⁶ Szemerényi (1990: 321).

¹⁷ Szemerényi (1990: 282).

¹⁸ Krahe (II 1969: 102)

between present, preterite singular and preterite plural respectively¹⁹. The IE perfect also accounts for the singular and dual endings as well as the 1st plural of the Gmc preterite, while secondary endings and zero ablaut grade of the aorist appear in the 2nd and 3rd plural²⁰.

It should be noted, however, that there are a number of problems attached to the relationship between the Gmc preterite and the IE perfect and aorist. Firstly, the pattern of reduplication characteristic of the IE perfect became extremely restricted in Gmc, being reflected only in certain strong verbs of class VII, but how and why this occurred is unclear. Secondly, as reduplication is clearly an archaic, IE formation, it is unclear why the Gmc verbs belonging to class VII, the reduplicating class, have no clear IE cognates.

The weak verbs, on the other hand, employ neither reduplication such as that found in the strong verbs of class VII, nor a systematic system of ablaut alternation such as that found in the strong verbs of classes I-VII. Instead they form their preterite by the addition of a dental suffix followed by a set of personal endings quite distinct from those of the strong verbs. This dental suffix characterising the preterite of the weak verbs is of unknown origin, having no corresponding forms outside Gmc.

From what has been discussed it is but a short step to the conclusion that the strong verbs belong to the older of the two Gmc verbal inflections, representing for the most part inherited forms from IE, while the weak verbs account for a younger system of inflection, representing an innovation unique to Gmc. This brings us to a number of important questions:

Firstly, what is the origin of the Gmc weak verbs? In other words, how and why did the weak verbs come into being?

Following on from this is the equally pertinent question: how and why should the weak verb group come to replace the originally larger strong verb group as a means of forming new verbs? Let us first address the issue of the origin of the weak verbs and the dental suffix.

A number of theories have been put forward which attempt to explain the origin of the Gmc dental preterite, all of which inevitably encounter serious difficulties. They have often traditionally been divided into two broad categories: *dh*-theories and *t*-theories²¹, that is theories which seek the origin of

¹⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the origin and development of the ablaut series of the strong verb in Gmc, an area which is clearly beyond the scope of this present work, see Meid (1971), Barnes & Esau (1973: 1-34), van Coetsem (1980: 281-339).

²⁰ Krahe (II 1969: 102).

²¹ This is the schema presented in Tops (1974). Apart from the composition theory, the only important work which seeks an origin for the dental preterite in an IE *dh*-element is that of Lehmann (1943) which is discussed later in this section. The reader should also note the

the dental of the weak preterite in IE **dh* and those which postulate that the dental element must derive from an IE **t*. The most important of the theories which relate the dental preterite to IE **dh* is the so-called composition theory which postulates that this **dh* derives from the verb “to do” (IE root $\sqrt{*dh\bar{e}}$, **dhō-*) and that the Gmc dental preterite was originally a compound consisting of the verbal base²² plus the verb “to do”.

Although there are several *t*-theories which seek an origin for the Gmc weak preterite in various IE formations, perhaps the most important of these connects the dental preterite with the dental suffix of the preterite participle, the dental present in the latter clearly deriving from the IE suffix **-to-*. The main theories which have been proposed for the origin of the Gmc weak preterite, the problems they encounter and their significance in respect to the data analyzed and presented in the present work can now be discussed in more detail. We will begin with the “to do” composition theory, a conjecture which was made as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century by Diederich von Stade²³.

As mentioned above, the composition theory sees the dental preterite as originating in a periphrastic construction formed by attaching, to the verb stem, preterite forms of the Gmc verb “to do” (IE root $\sqrt{*dh\bar{e}}$, **dhō-*) which, in effect, assumed the function of an auxiliary. The preterite of the verb “to do” could be formed in IE either with or without reduplication. Thus the singular forms without reduplication (IE **dhēm*, **dhēs*, **dhēt*, or with ablaut **dhōm*, **dhōs*, **dhōt*) could form the basis of the singular paradigm of the Gmc weak preterite (itself not formed with reduplication), while the reduplicated plural forms of the verb could form the basis of the plural paradigm of the Gmc weak preterite²⁴. Proponents of this theory draw on the similarity of the Gothic plural (and dual) endings of the weak preterite with the preterite of the verb “to do” in Gmc, from which they conclude that preterite (=IE perfect) forms of this verb have been preserved in the preterite plural (and dual) of Gothic weak verbs. To illustrate the similarity compare the Gothic weak verb plural endings *-dedum*, *-deduþ*, *-dedun* with the OHG forms of the verb “to do” *tātum*, *tātut*, *tātun*. A remarkable feature of this similarity is the fact that the aforementioned verb “to do” is lacking in Gothic, the class I weak verb *taujan* “to do, make” taking its place²⁵.

hypothesis of Shields (1982) which seeks an origin for the dental preterite in IE deictic particles in *d* and *t*, which also receives attention later in this section.

²² The problems surrounding the form originally taken by such a verbal base are discussed in more detail below.

²³ See Collitz (1912: 1-28) for a history of early research on the origin of the dental preterite, and Tops (1974) for a detailed discussion of twentieth century research until 1970.

²⁴ Krahe (II 1969: 127).

²⁵ A related noun **gadeþs* “deed, action” is, however, attested.

Proponents of the composition theory also draw attention to the Sanskrit periphrastic construction used to form the perfect of secondary verbs (the Sanskrit class X verbs, causatives and derivations from nominal stems)²⁶. This was a combination of the accusative of an abstract verbal noun (not used elsewhere) with the perfect of *karoti* “does”. Typical examples are: *bodhāyām cakāra* “woke up”, literally “did a waking”, from *bodhāyati* “wakes up”; *darśayām cakāra* “showed”, literally “did a showing”, from *darśayati* “shows”²⁷. However, other IE constructions which may derive from earlier compounds or periphrastic constructions in which a verb form appears to have become a temporal morpheme do not involve the verb “to do”²⁸. Thus the suffix *-bā-* in the Latin imperfect, e.g. *ama-bā-mus*, is generally held to derive from an aorist form of the IE verb **bhū-* “to be” (cf. Latin *fuī*), although the precise details are unclear²⁹. The suffix *-dava-* in the Lithuanian imperfect is less clear than the Latin, but possibly represents a fossilized preterite form of a verb in *-auti* or *-uoti*³⁰ which adopted an initial *d*: “Le *-d-* doit avoir été pris au participe en *-damas*, *dary-damas*”³¹.

A significant problem in relation to the “to do” theory is the absence of reduplicated forms in the weak verb preterite plural of the other Gmc languages. In response to this, however, the absence of reduplicated forms outside Gothic has been explained as arising from a restructuring process in which the North and WGmc plural forms lost their reduplication³². Another problem attached to this explanation involving the verb “to do” is that, while the preterite singular endings of the verb “to do” are formed with reduplication (e.g. OHG *teta* 1st sg., *tāti* 2nd sg., *teta* 3rd sg., OS *deda* 1st sg., *dedōs*, *dādi* 2nd sg., *deda* 3rd sg., OE *dyde* 1st sg., *dydes(t)* 2nd sg., *dyde* 3rd sg.), the singular endings of the weak preterite in Gothic do not, as would have been expected, appear in reduplicated form. The difficulties which the endings of the weak verbs present in relation to the various theories put forward to explain the origin of the Gmc dental preterite will be discussed in more detail below.

Furthermore, there is also considerable disagreement as to the exact form which the first element would have taken in such a compound formed with the

²⁶ A handful of primary verbs also form their perfect periphrastically: see Macdonell (1993: 116).

²⁷ See Macdonell (1993: 116).

²⁸ Feuillet (1981: 211).

²⁹ Feuillet (1981: 211). For alternative explanations concerning the origin of the Latin imperfect see the references given in Szemerényi (1990: 323 footnote 14a).

³⁰ Feuillet (1981: 211).

³¹ Vaillant (III 1966: 66). Further references to studies on the Lithuanian imperfect can be found in Szemerényi (1990: 323 footnote 16b).

³² Krahe (II 1969: 127).

verb “to do”. Loewe (1933) believed that the first element of the compound should normally be an accusative object of the verb **ðōn*, a function which could have been fulfilled in Gmc by a non-finite form of the verb such as the infinitive. However, Loewe wrongly assumed that Gmc did not possess an infinitive and instead postulated that a number of stem forms formed the basis of the first element. In this way Loewe explained class I Gmc verbs as originally deriving from stems in zero-grade *-i* (thus Gothic *nasi-da*). Likewise, class II verbs were descended from stems in *-ō* (thus Gothic *salbō-da*), and class III verbs from stems in *-ē* (thus OHG *habē-ta*). Furthermore, according to Loewe the stem form of classes I and II represented the original dental preterites, while class III verbs as well as verbs forming their preterite without a medial vowel between the verb root and the dental preterite ending were later formations. However, as the data will show, this assumption is inaccurate as there is clearly an archaic class of primary verbs in Gmc which form their preterite without a medial vowel³³, e.g. OHG *denken*, 3rd sing. pret. *dāhta*, OHG *wurken*, 3rd sing. pret. *wor(a)hta* (see 4.3.2.). It also fails to take into consideration the preterite-present verbs which, as the data will also reveal, are extremely archaic and similarly form their preterite without the aid of a medial vowel³⁴, e.g. OHG *darf*, 3rd sing. pret. *dorfta*, OHG *scal*, 3rd sing pret. sing. *scolta* (see 4.3.1.).

Von Friesen (1925) believed that IE “nomina actionis” ending in either **-ti* or **-tu* comprised the first element in dental preterites without a medial vowel between the verb root and the dental ending, while the following IE “nomina actionis” were responsible for the Gmc weak verb formations containing medial vowels: nouns ending in **-jo*, **-jā* for class I weak verbs, nouns ending in **-āje*, **-ājō* for class II weak verbs and nouns ending in **-ēje* for class III weak verbs. Thus von Friesen was able to reconstruct Gmc preterite forms such as **þanxti-dedāx̥* (Gothic *þahta*), **fullejo-dedāx̥* (Gothic *fullida*). However, the reduction required to derive Gothic *þahta* from an earlier **þanxti-dedāx̥* is considerable, and von Friesen’s reconstructions have consequently been considered implausible.

Sverdrup (1929) posited that the first element of the dental preterite must have been an accusative of a verbal noun. However, Sverdrup leaves the problem of the exact nature and formation of this verbal noun unresolved.

Hirt (1931-34) essentially accepted the composition theory as the main factor behind the origin of the Gmc dental preterite, but stressed that the Behaghel-Wackernagel theory (see below) must also be invoked to explain

³³ See also Bammesberger (1986: 77-78) for a discussion of the primary j-presents.

³⁴ See also Bammesberger (1986: 73-76) for a discussion of the preterite-present verbs.

those forms of the dental suffix which can only satisfactorily be derived from an IE **t*. Hirt's version of the composition theory drew attention to the fact that compounded verbal forms could occur quite freely in IE, for example Skt. *ēkī-bhavati* "he becomes one", Lithuanian *maini-davau* "I exchanged", *jednó-davau* "I united", Latin *amābam* "I loved". The latter two examples were formed with IE *ā* before the auxiliary and it was to this morphological type, according to Hirt, that Gmc class II weak verbs such as Gothic *salbōda* belonged. Hirt also suggested that pure stems without any final thematic vowel could make up the first element of such compounds, these giving Gmc forms such as Gothic *brahta*, *þuhta* etc. which he rightly considered to be old formations. Nevertheless, his theory offers no explanation as to why verbal compounds were sometimes formed from stems containing a final thematic vowel but at other times from first elements lacking such a vowel, nor can his theory offer up a suitable first element to explain the medial vowel of class I and class III weak verbs, Hirt suggesting that these are merely formed by analogy with the medial vowels found in the preterite participle. Most importantly, however, Hirt's work fails to offer any explanation as to why a mixture of both compounded forms and *t*-forms from the medial aorist arose in the Gmc weak preterite.

For Hermann (1948) the first element of the Gmc compound preterite was an uninflected nominal stem. According to Hermann, IE was typologically an uninflected language at a very early stage in its development and vestiges of endingless nouns can be found preserved as case forms in the historical IE daughter languages. Furthermore, Hermann provides examples of nouns attested in various IE languages and ending in IE **-i*, **-ā*, **-ō*, **-ē* or a consonant, which he believes were originally uninflected. Such nouns could thus provide the basis for the three classes of weak verb in Gmc. Not only is Hermann's theory extremely speculative, drawing on assumptions about a very archaic period in the evolution of IE, it is also flawed in assuming that Gmc, an inflected IE language, would have employed rare and archaic vestiges of uninflected nouns as part of a productive derivational process to form the preterite tense of the weak verbs. Furthermore, the data presented in this thesis does not provide any evidence for the existence of the noun types proposed by Hermann beside the verbs which belong to the oldest chronological strata, i.e. the preterite-present verbs and the class I, II and III primary verbs (see Chapter Three and 4.3.1., 4.3.2., 4.3.3., 4.3.4.).

As we shall shortly see, Birkhan (1979) essentially took the view that no single explanation can fully explain the dental preterite, but rather it is to be

regarded as having developed from various forms and influences. For those forms of the dental preterite which, according to Birkhan, can be shown to derive from IE **dhē*, the first element may have comprised stems containing an *i*-element, i.e. *ī*-, *ja*-, and *jō*-/ *ī*-stems, e.g. Gothic *hraini-dedum* beside *hrains* (< Gmc **hrainiz* “clean”). These stems were then able to provide a sufficiently secure model to allow later formations based on other stems, e.g. *a*-stems such as Gothic *blindi-dedum* beside *blinds* (< Gmc **blindaz* “blind”). Birkhan then proposed that a periphrastic construction in which the initial element was originally an accusative object could form the basis of certain forms of the dental preterite. Birkhan draws attention to the Sanskrit periphrastic perfect construction discussed above, i.e. *bodhāyām cakāra*, which he uses as evidence to allow him to reconstruct a late IE/pre-Gmc **mrtrjom dhēdhme* as the basis of Gothic *maurpri-dedum*. Nevertheless, Birkhan’s reconstruction is highly speculative, as the above periphrastic construction in Sanskrit does not provide sufficient evidence to allow such a periphrastic construction involving **dhē* to be traced back to such an early period.

Theories centred on composition with the verb “to do” may also be considered unsatisfactory on the grounds that they cannot account for the variant forms in which the dental suffix occurs, i.e. *-t*-, *-p*-, *-ð*- and *-s*-. The IE **dh* present in the verb **dhē* “to do” can only yield a Gmc **ð* or, in word initial position and after nasals, **d*³⁵. All these variant forms of the dental suffix can, however, be derived from an IE **-t*- element. However, before discussing the various “*t*-theories” put forward to explain the origin of the dental preterite, we should mention Wisniewski’s theory of “primäre Berührungseffekte” which she formulated as an attempt to explain preterite forms which can only derive from an IE **t* within the framework of the composition theory³⁶. Wisniewski suggests that long stemmed verb forms without ending in a consonant (e.g. Gmc **branh-tō* (> Gothic, OHG, OS *brāhta*), Gmc **panh-tō* (> Gothic *pāhta*, OHG *dāhta*)) underwent a particular sound change: “Die Entstehung liegt nahe, daß beim Antreten des Dentialsuffixes bei den langwurzlichen bindevokallosen Präterita primäre Berührungseffekte ausgelöst wurden, bei den kurzwurzlichen aber nicht... Wir müssen diesen Berührungseffekt als eine Verschärfung verstehen, von der vor allem der anlautende Dental des Präteritalsuffixes betroffen wurde”³⁷. This sound change must furthermore be pre-Gmc as a devoicing of <ð> would give <p> rather than the <t> found in forms such as

³⁵ Krahe (I 1969: 90).

³⁶ Wisniewski does not address the problem concerning the form taken by the initial element of the compounded form.

³⁷ Wisniewski (1963: 7).

**branh-tō* etc. In this way, a pre-Gmc compounded form such as **tong-dhōm* “I thought” would have undergone devoicing due to the “primäre Berührungseffekt”, yielding a form **tonk-tōm* which consequently developed into Gmc **panh-tō*³⁸. Nevertheless, there are a number of objections to Wisniewski’s theorem which are conveniently summarized by Tops: “if the Verschärfung is an Indo-European sound change the formation itself must be Indo-European as well. Even if it was only ‘eine vereinzelt auftretende Bildungsweise’, one would expect traces of it outside Gmc; yet Wisniewski adduces none”³⁹.

In summary then, although the verb “to do” can be seen as having played a key role in the formation and remodelling of the endings of the weak preterite, the problems associated with the composition theory which have been outlined in the previous paragraphs clearly indicate that it cannot provide a solution to the origin of the weak preterite as a whole.

Having outlined the composition theory and surveyed its drawbacks, we can now discuss the various conjectures centred on an origin in the dental element of the preterite participle⁴⁰.

As mentioned above, the dental suffix present in the preterite participle of the weak verbs can clearly be seen to derive from the IE suffix **-to-*. The **-to-* suffix was used in IE to form verbal adjectives, usually with zero-grade ablaut, which could also function as preterite participles, these participles being active in voice when formed from intransitive verbs and passive when formed from transitive verbs⁴¹. Compare, for example, the Latin passive participle *amātus* “loved” from the transitive verb *amāre* “to love” with the Sanskrit preterite participle *gatah* used actively to express “he went”. As a suffix used to form verbal adjectives functioning also as preterite participles, **-to-* enjoyed considerable productivity in IE and its daughter languages where it is represented by numerous examples, e.g. from IE **klutós* “heard of, famous, glorious” are derived Sanskrit *śrutah* “heard (of)”, Greek *κλυτός* “heard of, famous, renowned, glorious, noble, splendid”, Latin *inlūtus* “celebrated, famous, renowned”, OHG *Hlot-hari* “Lothar, i.e. whose army is famous”, OIr. *cloth* “fame, glory”⁴², Armenian *lu* “known”⁴³. Traces may even be present in

³⁸ See Tops (1974: 36) for a more detailed coverage of Wisniewski.

³⁹ Tops (1974: 36).

⁴⁰ Bopp (1816) may be considered the first to have derived forms of the weak preterite from the Gmc preterite participle. However, Bopp only derived the short Gothic preterite forms from the preterite participle, the long Gothic forms in *ēd* were, according to him, to be explained by the composition theory. The first to propose that the Gmc dental preterite was entirely derived from the preterite participle was Begemann (1873, 1874).

⁴¹ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 141).

⁴² Szemerényi (1990: 352).

⁴³ Meillet (1912: 250).

Hittite of a **-to-* suffix used to form participial adjectives from verbs, if the reading of *hasta-* as “born, prince” in *hastan-uri* “grand des princes” is correct⁴⁴. If correct, this almost certainly presupposes an extremely early origin for the **-to-* suffix. Despite its widespread occurrence in the various IE languages it is, however, in the Italic, Gmc and Baltic branches that the **-to-* suffix became especially productive⁴⁵. In Italic it became systematized, regularly forming the perfect participle passive of verbs of all conjugational classes, e.g. *monitus*, *amātus*, *obsolētus*⁴⁶. In Gmc it was also systematized, coming to be used, as we have seen, to form the preterite participle of the weak verbs, including the preterite-present verbs. At this point, however, it should be noted that participles formed with the IE suffix **-no-/-na-* also existed beside participles formed with IE **-to-*. This **-no-/-na-* suffix was particularly prominent in Indo-Aryan, Slavonic and Gmc⁴⁷. In Slavonic it came to supplant the **-to-* suffix⁴⁸, e.g. OCS *lakaja* beside Lith. *lankótos* “curved, bent”⁴⁹, while in Gmc it was systematized so as to regularly form the preterite participle of the strong verbs, e.g. Gmc **numanaz* “taken” which may be adduced from Gothic *numans*, ON *numenn*, OE *numen*, OS *gi-numan* and OHG *gi-noman*, and which represents the preterite participle of the class IV strong verb **nemanan* “to take” (Gothic *niman*, OHG *neman* etc.). As a result, a twofold preterite participle system developed in Gmc whereby **-no-/-na-* was used in conjunction with the strong verb inflectional types, and **-to-* was employed to form the preterite participles of the weak verb inflectional type.

The **-to-* theory, as well as showing an IE origin for the dental suffix, has the advantage that the stem of the past participle is the same as that of the preterite. Its importance has been well summarized by Ball: “It is surely a remarkable fact that the stem and dental of any and every weak verb are the same in the preterite and past participle. This immediately suggests either a common origin or that one is derived from the other. Now, the *-to-* participle is an IE formation while the weak preterite is Gmc, and, since a common origin seems out of the question, if they are related at all the dental preterite must be derived from the past participle”⁵⁰.

Nevertheless, the **-to-* theory is not without difficulties. Probably the most fundamental of these is that it offers no explanation for the endings of the

⁴⁴ Szemerényi (1990: 352).

⁴⁵ Brugmann (1905: 335).

⁴⁶ Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 141-142).

⁴⁷ Szemerényi (1990: 352).

⁴⁸ Vaillant (III 1966: 116f.).

⁴⁹ Meillet (1912: 335).

⁵⁰ Ball (1968: 186).

weak preterite. Furthermore, it is difficult to explain how a non-finite participial construction could have adopted endings and come to form the basis of a finite preterite tense form⁵¹. Two possible ways by which preterite participles may have become remodelled as inflected preterite tense markers are given below, neither of which are entirely convincing⁵².

The first of these sees the verbal preterite tense forms as having arisen through a reinterpretation, or perhaps rather misinterpretation, of the adjectival form and nature of the **-to-* participle. However, it is difficult to see how the Gmc reflexes of the inflectional variants of **-to-*, used in IE and Gmc to signal gender and number, e.g. IE sg. **-tos*, **-tā*, **-tom*, pl. **-toi*, **-tās*, **-tā* etc. > Gmc **-paz*, **-pō*, **-pan*, pl. **-pai*, **-pās*, **-pō* etc. would have offered scope for identification with verbal endings⁵³.

The second sees the verbal preterite tense forms as having arisen through combination and eventual fusion of the verbal adjective in **-to-* with an auxiliary verb. In support of this theory is the fact that phrases involving a juxtaposition of verbal adjective and auxiliary are relatively common, particularly those involving the verb “to be”⁵⁴. In such constructions the preterite participle may have been used as a past passive participle taking the place of a relative clause: IE **wrktos/wrktā esmi* > Gmc **wurhtaz/wurhtō immi* “(literally): I am the worked one” > “I am (he/she who has) worked”⁵⁵. Although the idea of fusion of the preterite participle with an auxiliary verb is convincing in theory, it is nevertheless extremely tentative and encounters serious problems when put into practice, both as regards ascertaining which auxiliary forms might have fused with the preterite participle, and in respect to the personal endings appearing in the preterite.

An interesting approach to the **-to-* theory can be seen in Wagner (1960) who attempted to show that IE participles in **-to-* played a significant influence on aorist and perfect tense forms in the late IE period⁵⁶ and can consequently account for not only the Gmc preterite (although he explains the personal endings on the basis of influence from the verb “to do”) but also the dental

⁵¹ But compare Russian *ja, ty, on znal* (masc.) “I, you, he knew”; *ja, ty, ona znala* (fem.) “I, you, she knew”; *my, vy, oni znali* (plural) “we, you, they knew”. However, these preterite tense forms are still inflected as an adjective, and no mixing of nominal and verbal inflection has occurred (Tops 1974: 74).

⁵² Meid (1971: 110f.).

⁵³ Meid (1971: 110f.).

⁵⁴ Meid (1971: 111).

⁵⁵ Meid (1971: 111).

⁵⁶ Furthermore, this influence happens about the same time as the demise of the perfect in Slavonic and the falling together of the aorist and perfect into a single tense in Latin, Celtic and Gmc.

element in the Celtic *t*-preterite, e.g. *biurt*, *birt*, *bert*, *bertam(m)ar*, etc. “I carried etc.”⁵⁷.

Wagner’s attempts to relate the Gmc preterite to the Celtic *t*-preterite have, however, been criticized by Watkins (1962) who firmly rejected an origin for the Celtic *t*-preterite in the IE **-to-* suffix. Instead, Watkins convincingly showed that the Celtic *t*-preterite derives from the IE *s*-aorist⁵⁸. Watkins also rejected Wagner’s claim that the **-to-* participle played an influence on the aorist and perfect during the late IE period claiming that, as the various languages mentioned by Wagner restructured their tenses in different ways, these non-parallel developments must have taken place independently. Nevertheless, Watkins accepted Wagner’s claim that the Gmc dental preterite is based on the IE **-to-* participle while its endings derive from the verb “to do”, and elaborated that the **-to-* participle originally formed the basis of the 3rd person singular finite form only, the merger of IE **t* and **dh* as a result of Grimm’s Law and Verner’s Law and the influence of the preterite endings of the verb “to do” subsequently allowing the formation to become extended to all persons of the weak preterite.

Ball (1968) provides a useful and informative article which builds on previous research relating the dental element of the preterite tense to the dental of the preterite participle. He begins by describing the conditions which enabled the dental preterite to establish its ascendancy, despite the “numerous irregularities which seem to have been part of the formation from the beginning”⁵⁹. The most important factor which favoured the weak preterite over the rival means of forming the preterite in Gmc, i.e. the ablaut conditioned and reduplicating strong verbs, was that these latter suffered from a number of disadvantages. Firstly, the ablaut conditioned preterite could only be used with verbs which had the normal grade IE vowel *e* in the root syllable of their present stem (except for verbs of class VI which had an ablaut pattern *a - ō - ō*, e.g. Gothic *faran*, *fōr*, and verbs of class VII which exhibit an ablaut pattern *ē - ō - ō*, e.g. Gothic *grētan*, *graiqrōt*). Furthermore, “the large number of conditioned sound-changes which affected accented vowels in Germanic and the various Germanic languages broke up the original orderly system of the strong verbs into a mass of irregularities”⁶⁰. Moreover, a change in the position of the accent

⁵⁷ Thurneysen (1946: 423).

⁵⁸ Watkins (1962: 38-46).

⁵⁹ Ball (1968: 165).

⁶⁰ Ball (1968: 164).

from the root syllable to the initial syllable of the reduplicating verbs⁶¹ lead to the weakening and eventual loss of the original root syllable in these verbs in NWGmc, e.g. OE *hātan*, *hēht* beside Gothic *haitan*, *haihait* “to call”. In other words the shift in the Gmc accent to the initial syllable can be seen as one of the main factors behind the gradual disintegration and eventual abandonment of the reduplicated preterite by the later languages.

Having described the conditions which favoured the growth of the weak preterite at the expense of the other preterite formations in Gmc, Ball attempts a relative chronology for the weak verbs. Thus for Ball, the preterite-present verbs and class I primary verbs without a connecting vowel in the preterite represent the most archaic groups of weak verbs, as they exhibit very early sound changes, e.g. IE **gt* > **kt* > Gmc **ht* (OE *dēag*, preterite *dohte*; Gothic *og*, preterite *ohita*)⁶². The thematic connecting vowel present in the “regular” weak verbs of classes I-III is therefore best regarded as having been levelled from the present stem. Ball’s chronology for the weak verbs thus corresponds very closely to the findings of the present work (see 4.3.1., 4.3.2., 4.3.3., 4.3.4.).

Having established a relative chronology for the earliest weak verbs, Ball then attempts an explanation for the origin of the dental preterite. As previously mentioned, Ball saw the dental of the preterite participle as the most convincing explanation, given that it is an IE formation while the dental preterite is unique to Gmc and therefore clearly younger. In order to explain the endings he adopts Must’s hypothesis (see below) that the Gmc weak preterite can be related to IE past tense formations based on *-ā-* and *-ē-* suffixes followed by the secondary endings, but elaborates on this by stating that the dental suffix of the preterite participle found its way into these preterite endings based on *-ā-* and *-ē-* suffixes. This, according to Ball, was out of a need to reinforce the preterite endings which, owing to the shift in accent to the initial syllable in Gmc, had become weakened to the point of becoming ineffective as a distinct means of marking the preterite: “As the distinctive marker (or markers) became indistinct, it was necessary to recharacterize the formation, and this was achieved by the innovation of forming the preterite on the stem of the past participle”⁶³. He further states that this change of formation could not occur without a pattern on which to base itself, and that this pattern may be found in

⁶¹ Compare Gothic *saizlep* (preterite of *slēpan* “to sleep”) which indicates that the stress was on the initial syllable, beside the presumably analogically reformed *saislep*.

⁶² According to Ball the sound changes are clearly IE, but this assumption has been criticized by Tops who maintains that the sound changes involved could quite feasibly have continued well into the Gmc period (Tops 1974: 82-83).

⁶³ Ball (1968: 187).

the strong verbs of classes I, II and III. The ablaut series of these verbs is such that the past participle and the whole of the preterite system (except 1st, 2nd, 3rd sg. indic. in Gothic and ON, and 1st, 3rd sg. indic. in WGmc) have a single stem containing the zero grade of ablaut in the root syllable, e.g. class I Gmc **beiðanan* “to await” (Gothic *beidan*), **biðum* 1st pl. pret. indic. (Gothic *bidum*), **biðanaz* pret. part. (Gothic *bidans*); class II Gmc **beuðanan* “to offer” (Gothic *-biudan*), **buðum* 1st pl. pret. indic. (Gothic *-budum*), **buðanaz* pret. part. (Gothic *-budans*); class III Gmc **bendan* “to bind” (Gothic *bindan*), **bundum* 1st pl. pret. indic. (Gothic *bundum*), **bundanaz* pret. part. (Gothic *bundans*).

Meid’s (1971) study is not confined to the preterite forms of the weak verbs proper, but also deals with the preterite of the strong verbs (both those taking ablaut and those employing reduplication to mark the preterite). Meid derives the dental suffix of the weak preterite from that of the preterite participle, as already discussed, and stresses that the preterite-present verbs probably comprise the earliest group to have taken the dental suffix in their preterite tense forms. He supports this theory on the grounds that the preterite-present verbs (along with a small group of primary weak verbs proper) formed their preterite participle and preterite tense forms without any intervening thematic vowel and, as such preterite forms lacking a thematic vowel are the exception rather than the rule among the Gmc weak verbs, they must therefore belong to a more archaic type of dental preterite formation. He then proposes that the preterite participle could come to form the basis of a preterite tense construction by adopting and modifying the IE secondary endings: “Die Sekundärendungen hatten praeteritale Funktion im Imperfekt und Aorist, Formationen, die für das frühe Germanische mit mehr oder weniger großer Wahrscheinlichkeit noch vorausgesetzt werden dürfen”⁶⁴. Finally to support an ultimate derivation for the Gmc dental preterite in the IE **-to-* participle, Meid presents what he believes to be parallel cases of the verbalization of the adjectival **-to-* participle in the other branches of IE. He observes that in Slavonic a small group of verbs form an aorist in *-tu-* in their 2nd and 3rd person singular⁶⁵. These same verbs form a perfective passive participle in *-tu* (< IE **-to-*) and not in *-(e)nu* (< IE **-(e)no-*) which is more remarkable when it is noted that *-(e)nu* represents the usual way to form the perfective passive participle in Slavonic. Typical examples of aorists in *-tu* include the following: OCS *pe-ti* “to suspend, hang”, *pe-tu* perf. part., *pe-tu* 2nd,

⁶⁴ Meid (1971: 112).

⁶⁵ Meid (1971: 114). See also van Wijk (1925: 281-289).

3rd sg. aor.; *zre-tu* “to devour”, *zru-tu* perf. part., *zre-tu* 2nd, 3rd sg. aor. The difference in ablaut grade between the preterite participle and aorist of forms such as *zru-tu* and *zre-tu* can be explained, according to Meid, as resulting from the secondary suffixation of the aorist⁶⁶. Similarly, Meid believes that the **-to-* participle forms the basis of a Celtic passive formation which could develop an active or medio-passive meaning in intransitive verbs, e.g. IE **g^w-to-* “gone” which yields both OIr. *at-batha* (passive inflectional ending) and *at-bathatar* (active inflectional ending) “they died”. Meid also derives the Celtic *t*-preterite from the IE **-to-* participle, but as we have already seen, this is disputed by Watkins.

Despite the rather controversial attempts made by Meid to find parallel developments in the other branches of IE whereby the IE **-to-* participle has come to form a finite tense form, the verbs which he identifies as the earliest weak verbs are corroborated by the findings in this thesis (see 4.3.1., 4.3.2., 4.3.3., 4.3.4.). Nevertheless, Meid’s article is criticized by Tops on the grounds that “no convincing case for a transition from nominal to verbal inflection has been made”⁶⁷.

In addition to the composition theory and the various attempts made to relate the dental preterite to the preterite participle there are, as previously mentioned, a number of other theories concerning the origin of the Gmc weak preterite. We can now outline the most important of these.

According to the so-called Behagel-Wackernagel theory the dental suffix of the Gmc weak preterite derives from the second person singular secondary ending of the IE medial aorist. Hence the ending seen in, for example, Gmc **naz-i-ðēs* (Gothic *nasidēs*) can be seen to correspond to the Sanskrit 2nd person singular medial aorist ending seen in forms such as *vrthāh* “you were covered”, both forms, according to this theory, stemming from an original IE ending **-thēs*⁶⁸. The Behagel-Wackernagel theory found later adherents in Sievers (1924), Sehrt (1944) and, as a means to explain the Gothic long endings, Krause (1968)⁶⁹. A significant problem, however, for the Behagel-Wackernagel theory is that it cannot account for the endings of the weak preterite which take the vowel *-ō-* (see below for a discussion of the endings of the weak preterite).

Collitz’ (1912) work attempts to derive the Gmc dental preterite from the IE ending of the third person singular medio-passive perfect. He notes that the first and third person singular seen in the Gothic passive paradigm end in *-da*

⁶⁶ Meid (1971: 114), van Wijk (1925: 281-289).

⁶⁷ Tops (1974: 86).

⁶⁸ See Tops (1974: 44).

⁶⁹ See Tops (1974: 66-68).

(e.g. *bairada* “am, is carried”), and thus correspond to the first and third person singular of the weak preterite, also in *-da*. This allows him to reach the conclusion that these passive and weak preterite forms share the same origin, an IE middle perfect form: “Seinen eigenartigen Endungen nach ist das schw. Prät. eine Passivform. Da es seiner Bedeutung nach mit dem starken Präteritum - einer alten Perfektform - auf einer Linie steht, so schliessen wir, dass es dem alten Perfekt des Mediopassivs entspricht”⁷⁰. An IE medio-passive ending **-toi*⁷¹ can be seen in the third person singular of present and aorist stems (thus Sanskrit *-tē* in e.g. *ṇayate* “is led”, Greek *-ται* (Arcadian, Mycenaean *-τοι*) in e.g. *λύεται* “it is loosened”, Hittite *-ta(ri)*)⁷². This IE medio-passive ending is also seen in the third person singular of the Greek medio-passive perfect, e.g. *λέλυται* “it has been loosened”⁷³. According to Collitz, this IE medio-passive ending became extended in Gmc to the first person singular present of the medio-passive paradigm (hence Gothic *bairada* “am carried”), and to the first and third person singular of the medio-passive perfect, this latter forming the basis of the Gmc weak preterite. There are, however, a number of objections to Collitz’ theory⁷⁴. Perhaps the most significant stumbling block for Collitz’ theory is that, especially on the basis of Runic Norse forms such as *tawido*, *worahito* etc., the ending of the first person singular of the dental preterite can be shown to have been **-ðō(m)* in Gmc (see the description given below of the dental preterite endings). It cannot therefore have an identical origin with the Gothic passive forms in *-da* which, as mentioned above, go back to an IE medio-passive ending **-toi*. It should also be noted that a significant proportion of the verbs which, as this thesis reveals, belong to the most archaic types, i.e. the preterite-present and pre-Gmc primary verbs (see 4.3.1., 4.3.2., 4.3.3., 4.3.4.), exhibit the zero-grade of ablaut in their root syllable. However, the IE perfect normally took the o-grade of ablaut in the singular paradigm⁷⁵. If indeed the IE second person singular medio-passive ending did become extended to other persons in the perfect of a core group of early verbs in Gmc, we would expect this archaic, core group to show the o-grade of ablaut in their root syllable rather than the zero-grade which, as stated, the present work shows to be a particularly prominent feature of the most archaic weak verb types.

⁷⁰ Collitz (1912: 128-129).

⁷¹ This ending was actually reconstructed by Collitz as **-tai*. An IE form **-toi* is, however, now considered more convincing on the basis of the Mycenaean evidence: see Szemerényi (1990: 253).

⁷² Szemerényi (1990: 253-255).

⁷³ Goodwin (1930: 103).

⁷⁴ See Tops (1974: 50-59) for a more detailed discussion of these.

⁷⁵ See Szemerényi (1990: 312, 315).

Brugmann (1914) proposed that the Gmc dental preterite represents a reformation of an IE preterite in **-to-m*, **-te-s*, **-te-t* etc., which belonged to a class of IE *to*-presents, e.g. OHG Gothic *falþan*, *waldan*, OHG *flehtan*, *spaltan*, Latin *plectāre*, Greek *πέκτω*, Sanskrit *sphutati*. However, the data in the present work (see Chapter Three) does not reveal there to be a sufficient number of OHG verbs ultimately cognate with *to*-presents attested in the other IE languages, and Brugmann's theory must consequently be dismissed on the grounds that there is insufficient data on which such a reformation could have operated. A further criticism of Brugmann's hypothesis has been raised by Sverdrup who stated that such a reformation of the *t*-element would only be possible "wenn nachzuweisen wäre, dass zu derselben Wurzel mit und ohne *t*-Formans nebeneinander beständen; dann könnte nämlich der Vorgang eintreten, dass ein Imperfekt oder ein Aorist von dem mit *t*-Formans gebildeten Verbum in Beziehung zu dem Präsens ohne *t*-Formans träte und als Präteritum zu ihm gefühlt würde"⁷⁶.

Brugmann's theory was later modified by Prokosch (1939), who saw the Gmc dental preterite as a reformation of the *t*-element present in the *-tā* suffix attested in Latin frequentative or intensive verbs of the type *clāmitāre*, *occultāre*, this suffix developing a temporal function within Gmc. However, these Latin frequentative or intensive verbs represent a Latin innovation deriving from the preterite participle (Latin *-tu-* < IE **-to-*), e.g. *occultāre* "to hide, conceal" < *occultus*, *-a*, *-um* "hidden, concealed" preterite participle of *occulere* "to cover"; *domitāre* "to tame, subdue" < *domitus*, *-a*, *-um* tamed, broken in" preterite participle of *domāre* "to tame, subdue"; *habitāre* "to inhabit, dwell" < *habitus*, *-a*, *-um* "disposed, in the habit of" preterite participle of *habēre* "to have, hold"⁷⁷, and are therefore independent formations unrelated to the Gmc preterite.

For Must (1951, 1952), the IE second person singular perfect ending **-tha* (Gmc **-ta*) formed the basis of the Gmc dental preterite. As the reader will recall from earlier in this chapter, the preterite endings of the Gmc strong verbs can be derived from the endings of the IE perfect, in other words the Gmc strong verbs have a clear origin in an earlier IE formation. Thus, according to Must, it might be possible to show that the weak preterite, a later formation with no relation in IE, represents a secondary development deriving from the earlier strong preterite. Must takes as his starting point the verb **brenganan* (OHG *bringan*) which exhibits ablaut and corresponds to the strong verbs in the

⁷⁶ Sverdrup (1915: 15).

⁷⁷ Brugmann (IV 1895: 303).

present tense but which has a weak preterite, and a small group of similar primary weak verbs such as **þankjanan* (OHG *denken*) and **wurkjanan* (OHG *wurken*) which, he believed, although not subject to ablaut were originally strong. He then reconstructed the strong preterite endings **brang-a*, **brang-ta* (which developed regularly to **branh-ta* and later to **brāht-a*), and **brang-e* for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons singular respectively of the verb **brengejanan*. Next, according to Must, the divergent form exhibited by the 2nd person singular **brāht-a* became extended throughout the entire paradigm by a process of analogical levelling⁷⁸. As a result the **t*, now present in all persons of the preterite paradigm of these verbs, came to be regarded as belonging to the preterite stem and consequently took on the function of a tense formant. The process is described by Must as follows: “The ending became so closely connected with the stem that the original boundary between the two was lost; and the new form, which arose through fusion of stem and ending, came to be recognized as the word stem. This kind of stem alteration, which came into being in the 2nd person singular, was taken over by the entire preterit. New paradigms arose in which presents without *-t* and preterits with the *t*-formant stood side by side. Consequently the dental element was felt to be the tense formant of the preterit”⁷⁹. Finally, this tense formant then gradually spread so as to regularly form the preterite of any newly derived secondary verb.

Must then assumes that the final short vowel of this newly formed *t*-preterite was lost at an early stage of Gmc (e.g. **brāht-a* > **brāht*) and with it “the distinction between the various persons”⁸⁰. Consequently, it was necessary to adopt new endings from other tense or mood forms in order to express this distinction and, according to Must, IE subjunctive endings, namely the *ā*-subjunctive and *ē*-subjunctive, came to be used to this purpose. Thus the *ā*-subjunctive (attested in Latin *feram*, *ferās*, *ferat*, *ferāmus*, *ferātis*, *ferant*⁸¹, OIr. *bera*, *ber(a)e*, *ber(a)id*, *berm(a)i*, *berth(a)e*, *ber(a)it*⁸², Tocharian A *kalkam* “eam” etc.) could explain the Gmc weak preterite endings in *-ō* (IE *ā* > Gmc

⁷⁸ Must supports his argument for a process of analogical levelling by drawing attention to the fact that the second person paradigm in the modern Scandinavian languages, e.g. Norwegian *jeg* singular present ending *-r* has similarly been carried over to all the persons of the present *parelsker*, *du elsker*, *han elsker*, *vi elsker*, etc. (1951: 126).

⁷⁹ Must (1951: 127).

⁸⁰ Must (1951: 132).

⁸¹ But see Szemerényi (1990: 279 footnote 1) for references to research rejecting the relation of the Latin *ā*-subjunctive to the Celtic *ā*-subjunctive. It is nevertheless remarkable to note that the Latin imperfect also appears to be formed from the *ā*-subjunctive endings, e.g. *regēbam*, *regēbās*, *regēbat*, *regēbāmus*, *regēbātis*, *regēbant*. see Szemerényi (1990: 280).

⁸² Thurneysen (1946: 382).

ο)⁸³. Thus also, the \bar{e} -subjunctive (attested in Greek φέρω, φέρης, φέρη) could explain the Gmc weak preterite endings in - \bar{e} ⁸⁴. It is important to note, however, that in his second article⁸⁵ Must moves away from the idea of subjunctive endings and attempts to prove that the suffixes - \bar{a} - and - \bar{e} - (though the case for - \bar{e} - is less certain) followed by the IE secondary endings formed the basis of a number of past tense formations found in the IE languages, e.g. in the Latin imperfect), in Greek (cf. ἔταν, ἔδραν “ran away”) and in Lithuanian. He concludes: “It is evident... that Germanic must be added to Baltic, Greek and Latin to complete the group of languages that have a preterite formation based on secondary verbal stems in \bar{e} and \bar{a} with secondary personal endings... This formation must date from the Proto-Indo-European period”⁸⁶.

Must’s proposal is attractive in respect to the data presented in this thesis, as the class I primary, j-present verbs are indeed extremely early formations, comprising along with the preterite-present verbs the most archaic stratum among the Gmc weak verbs (see 4.3.1., 4.3.2., 4.3.3., 4.3.4.). Yet Must’s hypothesis is not without difficulties. Firstly, Must asserts that the formation must be regarded as having begun in IE and already reached completion by an early period of Gmc, as the dental shows the effect of Verner’s Law and because certain forms show some very archaic characteristics (e.g. the assimilation seen in the Gothic preterite-present verb *wissa*). However, it is difficult to justify the loss of inflectional endings proposed by Must, as Gmc at this primitive stage in its development was characterized by a moveable accent (as can be deduced from Verner’s law) which could thus fall on certain endings. Secondly, as the IE second person singular perfect ending **-tha* remains clearly preserved in strong preterite forms such as Gothic and ON *bart*, according to Ball it seems, “very unlikely that a single ending would survive intact in its original function in one type of preterite, and also through a levelling process provide a suffix to form the basis of a second type of preterite”⁸⁷. Furthermore, Must’s emphasis of the role played by - \bar{a} - and - \bar{e} - suffixes is succinctly criticized by Tops: “the whole theory rests on forms like *brāxta*, which must derive from an Indo-European perfect. But in the second article he invokes Indo-European formations in - \bar{e} - and - \bar{a} -, which are definitely not perfects”⁸⁸.

An interesting and original proposal put forward by Lehmann (1943) sees the dental suffix of the Gmc weak preterite as originating in an IE

⁸³ The endings of the Gmc weak preterite are discussed in detail below.

⁸⁴ The endings of the Gmc weak preterite are discussed in detail below.

⁸⁵ Must (1952).

⁸⁶ Must (1952: 104f.).

⁸⁷ Ball (1968: 185).

⁸⁸ Tops (1974: 71).

dh-determinative. Lehmann began by comparing words derived from simple roots and words which he posited were derived from root plus *dh*-determinative. He was then able to come to the conclusion that this determinative was able to modify the meaning of the words to which it was attached: “The determinative thus implies ‘previous action’ in regard to either the subject or object of that action”⁸⁹. This enabled him to deduce that: “This modification of meaning is similar to that which was originally present in the verb forms from which the Gmc strong preterite developed, that is, ‘completed action’. This correspondence of signification suggests that the Gmc weak preterite formant may have had its origin in the *dh*-determinative”⁹⁰. To support his argument Lehmann cites parallel preterite tense formants found in the other IE languages which he believes are, in origin, determinatives: the s-aorist found in Indo-Aryan, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Slavonic and Albanian, the c’-aorist of Armenian, the k-perfect and θην-aorist of Greek. Nevertheless, Lehmann can furnish only a handful of examples of Gmc weak verbs which, on the basis of cognate forms in the other IE languages, may go back to an IE base formed with a *dh*-determinative, e.g. OHG *nāta* “I sewed” alongside Greek *νήθω* “I sew”. To counter this, Lehmann suggests that the formation began in a small group of archaic forms and then spread by analogy. However, as the data presented in this thesis will clearly indicate, the most archaic categories of weak verbs, the preterite-present verbs and the pre-Gmc primary verbs (see 4.3.1., 4.3.2., 4.3.3., 4.3.4.), do not offer any evidence to show that they can be traced back to IE forms containing a *dh*-determinative. Lehmann’s theory must consequently be dismissed on the grounds that there is insufficient evidence to support it.

More recently, and in a manner similar to Lehmann, Shields (1982) has proposed that the dental suffix of the Gmc weak preterite is to be derived from “functionally parallel Indo-European verbal formations in **-t* and **-dh*”⁹¹. He elaborates: “these Indo-European verbal constructions served to mark the non-present”, while “the dental suffixes which they contained are themselves to be derived etymologically from deictic particles in **-t* and **-dh*”⁹². Shields believes that such a development was possible on account of the relatively uncomplicated system of verbal inflection possessed by IE in its earlier stages of development, and succinctly quotes Lehmann: “In PIE, tense and the time of action were not indicated by means of verbal affixes. Indications of the time of the action were given by means of particles or adverbs or were implicit in the

⁸⁹ Lehmann (1943: 22).

⁹⁰ Lehmann (1943: 22).

⁹¹ Shields (1982: 427).

⁹² Shields (1982: 427-428).

aspects of the verb forms”⁹³. In other words, spatio-temporal relationships would have been primarily marked by deictic particles⁹⁴. He then presents the evidence for the existence of a deictic particle **-t* in IE, indicating that it is attested in forms such as Lithuanian *tè*, Greek *τη* “there”, Latin *is-te* “that”, OCS *kŭ-to* “who”. Similarly, the deictic particle **-dh* is attested in forms such as Sanskrit *ku-ha* “where”, Latin *ibi* “there”, Greek *πό-θι* “where”, OCS *kŭ-de* “where”, *si-de* “here”. When combined with a verb form, the “there and then” deixis exhibited by these particles could consequently be used to indicate “that the verbal action or state of being occurred in the ‘not-now’”⁹⁵. Thus, when reanalyzed as preterite tense markers and used in conjunction with personal endings they could easily form the basis of a preterite tense formation. A particularly attractive aspect of this “mixed origin” (i.e. from both **-t* and **-dh* elements) proposal put forward by Shields is that it can account for all the variant forms taken by the dental in the Gmc weak preterite. Nevertheless, if such deictic particles came to be affixed to verb forms in IE we would expect to see more evidence for such a phenomenon in the historically attested IE languages outside Gmc. In other words, it is still unclear why the dental preterite is unique to Gmc. To counter this, Shields argues that while Gmc generalized a preterite tense comprising dental suffixes which were in origin deictic particles, the other main branches of Indo-European (e.g. Indo-Aryan, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Slavonic etc.) generalized a preterite construction which, according to Shields, derives from a similar deictic particle in **-s*, this preterite construction being the so-called sigmatic or ‘s’ aorist. It is also perhaps surprising that the deictic particles **-t* and **-dh* which Shields proposes form the basis of the Gmc weak preterite do not appear in other, non-preterite formations in Gmc, for example as dental extensions forming part of present stems. Indeed, the data analyzed in this thesis indicates that verbal extensions formed with a dental consonant are extremely rare in all periods of Gmc (except in the suffix occurring in class I Gmc **-atjanan* verbs which is clearly intensive rather than temporal in function)⁹⁶.

Any theory put forward which tries to find an origin for the Gmc dental preterite must also provide an explanation for the personal endings which this tense form takes. However, these endings cannot easily be explained and, as we

⁹³ Lehmann (1974: 139).

⁹⁴ Shields (1982: 427). Compare Markey’s assertion: “At an early stage of Indo-European deictic markers constituted the formal indication of the grammatical categories expressing time, place and person” (1979: 65).

⁹⁵ Shields (1982: 434).

⁹⁶ See 4.6.1.2. for a discussion of the origin and role played by verbal extensions which form part of the present stem in the Gmc weak verbs.

have seen, present a number of problems for each of the various theories concerning the origin of the dental preterite. Before discussing some of the main theories put forward to try to tackle these problems, we should give a brief overview of the endings found in the weak preterite. These endings differ from those found in the preterite of the strong verbs and are further complicated by the fact that the different dialects in Gmc do not agree on one clear set of endings. The forms taken by the endings in each of the various Gmc languages are as follows⁹⁷: the 1st sg. pret. indic. present appears in the following forms: Runic Norse *tawiðo* (5th century), Gothic *lagida*, OS *legda*, OE *legde*, OHG *legita*, from which an original Gmc ending **-ðō* can be adduced⁹⁸. The 2nd sg. pret. indic. appears with *ē* vocalism in Gothic *lagidēs*, ON *lagþer* and OS *legdes*, but with *ō* vocalism in OS *legdōs*, OHG *legitōs*, from which a Gmc ending **-ðēs*, **-ðōs* showing an alternation between *ē* and *ō* vocalism can be reconstructed⁹⁹. The 3rd sg. pret. indic. appears with *ē* vocalism in Runic Norse *tawiðe* (6th century or earlier), but with *ō* vocalism in OSwed. *w(u)rtāa* (Ethelhem Clasp, early 6th century), while Gothic *lagida*, OHG *legita* and OS *femida*, OE *legde* are ambiguous and may derive from a form with either *ē* or *ō*. Thus a Gmc ending **-ðē*, **-ðō*, which also exhibits an alternation between *ē* and *ō* vocalism, can be inferred¹⁰⁰.

Among the endings outlined above, the presence of forms with *ē* vocalism beside those with *ō* vocalism is somewhat problematic. It can be seen to represent a regular ablaut alternation of the type seen in Greek ἄ-φρων “without sense” beside φρήν “heart, sense”, or ἄ-πάτωρ “fatherless” beside πατήρ “father”¹⁰¹. However, whether this ablaut alternation is original or whether it developed through analogy with the alternation of the thematic vowel

⁹⁷ The examples are, for the most part, taken from Ball (1968: 180-181) which the reader should also refer to for a discussion of the endings of the Gmc dental preterite.

⁹⁸ This is probably the most commonly cited reconstruction for the 1st person plural of the Gmc weak preterite: see Bech (1963: 5-6), Birkhan (1979: 57-58), Bammesberger (1986: 85). Meid (1971: 111), however, notes the *-s* ending of the 2nd person singular and assumes that the Gmc weak preterite was originally formed with the IE secondary endings. He thus reconstructs the 1st person singular ending as Gmc **-ðōm*. The use of the IE secondary endings is perfectly plausible when it is remembered that these were typically employed in past tense forms in IE, i.e. in the imperfect and aorist tenses (compare the Sanskrit imperfect forms: *ābharam* 1st sg., *ābharah* 2nd sg., *ābharat* 3rd sg. etc.): see further the discussion above on Meid’s contribution to the problem of the weak preterite.

⁹⁹ See also Bech (1963: 5-6), Birkhan (1979: 57-58), Bammesberger (1986: 85).

¹⁰⁰ See also Bech (1963: 5-6), Birkhan (1979: 57-58), Bammesberger (1986: 85). Meid (1971: 111), as previously noted, assumes that the Gmc weak preterite was originally formed with the IE secondary endings, and thus reconstructs the 3rd person singular ending as Gmc **-ðēþ* (the *ō*-variant of this would, of course, be **-ðōþ*).

¹⁰¹ Ball (1968: 182).

characteristic of the present and, in IE, imperfect and aorist endings¹⁰² (cf. Gothic *baira* (< IE **bherō*) 1st sg. beside Gothic *bairiþ* (< IE **bhereti*) 3rd sg.) is unclear.

The plural is more problematic and three distinct variants emerge from the evidence of the dialects. The first of these is represented, in the indicative, by ON *logþom* 1st pl., *logþoþ* 2nd pl., *logþo* 3rd pl. (with ON loss of final nasal, cf. Runic *ðaliðun*), OHG *legitum* 1st pl., *legitut* 2nd pl., *legitun* 3rd pl., OE *legdon* 3rd pl., OS *legun* 3rd pl. These endings correspond to those of the preterite plural of the strong inflection which, as noted earlier, is most convincingly seen as having derived from a syncretism of the IE perfect and aorist forms (see 1.2.). The second of these is represented by OHG forms belonging to the Alemannic and to some Rhenish Franconian dialects, *legitōm* 1st pl., *legitōt* 2nd pl., *legitōn* 3rd pl. These Alemannic and Franconian forms cannot be explained as having resulted through analogy, and as the vowel *ō* regularly appears in the singular forms of the dental preterite, such forms with *ō* may well represent the original type¹⁰³. If these Alemannic and Franconian endings are indeed the original type, the endings seen in ON *logþom* etc. are therefore probably best seen as having been reformed on analogy with the preterite endings of the strong verbs. Finally, the third type appears in Gothic *lagidedum* 1st pl., *lagideduþ* 2nd pl., *lagidedun* 3rd pl. These Gothic plural forms are remarkably similar to the plural endings of the Gmc verb **dōanan* “to do” (OHG *tuon*, OS *dōn*, OE *dōn*) seen in OHG *tātum* 1st pl., *tātut* 2nd pl., *tātun* 3rd pl. and OS *dādun* 1st, 2nd, 3rd pl. (beside *dedun*). These OHG and OS forms in *ā* are probably most satisfactorily to be regarded as reformations from forms with the original reduplicating vowel *e* (OS *dedun*) on analogy with the plural of strong verb classes IV and V¹⁰⁴. As the Gothic plural forms differ so radically from the corresponding forms in the other dialects they are probably best viewed as having been restructured analogically¹⁰⁵. It thus follows from the evidence provided by the similarities between the verb “to do” and the Gothic preterite plural that the verb “to do” was the main influence behind this restructuring.

From what has been discussed in the above paragraphs concerning the origin and development of the dental preterite, it will have become clear that every attempt to provide a complete explanation for the dental preterite has met

¹⁰² Meid (1971: 112).

¹⁰³ Ball (1968: 181).

¹⁰⁴ Ball (1968: 181).

¹⁰⁵ Ball (1968: 181). See also Feuillet: “Rien ne prouve que les formes gothiques soient les plus anciennes et reflètent plus fidèlement l’état du germanique. La pierre de Tune qui est un témoin presque contemporain du gothique, a un prétérit pluriel *dalidun* et non **dalidēdun*” (1981: 216).

with serious problems and that consequently no satisfactory, single explanation has been found. Consequently, rather than developing a new theory to explain the origin of the dental preterite, or attempting to prove that an existing theory can fully explain all aspects of the dental preterite, a considerable amount of recent research has aimed at analyzing the dental preterite as a “mixed” derivation, resulting from a number of forms or influences, the operation of analogy playing a vital role in its subsequent development: “Es wäre im Grunde erstaunlich, wenn das germ. Dentalprät., das doch sehr abweichende Formen zeigen kann..., auf eine einzige Bildung zurückginge”¹⁰⁶. Thus it is now generally accepted that the “to do” composition theory, if not providing a complete and satisfactory explanation for the origin of the dental preterite, played an important, if perhaps only secondary, role in its development, especially in respect to the formation or restructuring of certain endings: “Daß diese Theorie zumindest einen richtigen Kern enthält, kann angenommen werden”¹⁰⁷. Similarly, it cannot be denied that forms containing an IE **-t-* form the basis of a significant number of weak verbs, in particular the earliest weak verb formations such as the preterite-present verbs.

In other words, then, the importance of an approach which “aims at integrating earlier findings into a coherent whole”¹⁰⁸ is now recognized. Furthermore, its importance will not be neglected in the present work, as we shall see when the OHG data which has been collected is analyzed in Chapter Four. We can now discuss some of the more recent research contributions to the problem of the dental preterite which have followed this “mixed” approach.

Birkhan divides the weak preterite into six separate types on the basis of the derivation of their dental consonant. The first two types consist of forms containing an original IE **dh* which is best regarded as stemming from IE **dhē*¹⁰⁹. In type one IE **dhē* appears in an old reduplicated form, e.g. Gothic *nasidedum*. In type two, e.g. Gothic *nasida*, IE **dhē* appears to preserve vestiges of an old IE unaugmented aorist. Types three to five consist of forms deriving from an original IE *t*-element. In type three, e.g. Gothic *kunþa*, Birkhan sees this **t* as originating in the 3rd person singular medial secondary ending of the athematic aorist (=IE **-ta*¹¹⁰, cf. Sanskrit *a-di-ta*) or more specifically,

¹⁰⁶ Birkhan (1979: 60).

¹⁰⁷ Bammesberger (1986: 70).

¹⁰⁸ Kortlandt (1989: 101).

¹⁰⁹ As the reader will recall, Birkhan’s treatment of the composition theory has been dealt with earlier.

¹¹⁰ See Szemerényi (1990: 253).

unaugmented forms (=the Sanskrit injunctive)¹¹¹. Similarly, the forms belonging to type four, e.g. Gothic *puhta*, also ultimately derive from the 3rd person singular medial secondary ending of the aorist, but have been subjected to “Primärberührung”¹¹². Forms belonging to type five, e.g. Gothic *brahta*, are the result of analogous restructuring based on the type four forms affected by “Primärberührung”. Finally, type six consists of forms corresponding to those of type three and which therefore must originally derive from an IE **-t-*, but which have become contaminated by forms belonging to type two with a dental deriving from IE **dhē-*. Birkhan concludes his study: “Ich glaube also gezeigt zu haben, daß weder die Annahme einer Juxtaposition oder Komposition eines Verbalnomens mit **dhē-* noch auch die Rückführung des Dentalsuffixes auf idg. *-t-* die Allheilmittel sind, mit denen man alternative dem schwachen Präteritum zu Leibe rücken könnte. M. E. gibt es keine einheitliche Lösung, sondern das Wahrscheinlichste ist die Annahme, das schwache Präteritum sei ein *mixtum compositum*, in welchem sich mehrere ererbte Bildungsprinzipien und -kategorien vereinten”¹¹³.

Bammesberger also takes the approach that the weak verbs do not have a single origin and, as mentioned previously (1.1.), attempts a chronological stratification of the weak verbs: “Es ist wohl nicht damit zu rechnen, daß alle schwachen Präteritalbildungen den gleichen Ursprung haben. Wenn man verschiedene chronologische Schichten feststellen kann, dann müßte es aber auch gelingen, die Geschichte dieser Formation wenigstens in Umrissen nachzuzeichnen”¹¹⁴. He groups the weak verbs into the following categories: preterite-present verbs, primary j-present verbs (including the so-called “Rückumlaut” verbs), and the regular weak verbs of classes I-IV. The first two groups comprise the most archaic weak verb formations, while the regular weak verbs of classes I-IV belong to the most recent weak verb formations and have an origin which must be explained differently from that of the preterite-present and primary j-present verbs. We shall begin by outlining the solution which Bammesberger proposes to explain the early preterite-present and primary j-present category.

Bammesberger takes as his starting point the fact that the preterite-present verbs correspond in their present forms to the IE perfect. However, remnants of the IE aorist were also inherited by Gmc and, as we have

¹¹¹ See Szemerényi (1990: 282). Compare Must’s hypothesis discussed earlier which derives the dental of the Gmc weak preterite from the 2nd person singular ending of the perfect (IE **-tha*, Gmc **-ta*), a derivation which Birkhan explicitly rejects.

¹¹² See the earlier discussion of Wisniewski’s work.

¹¹³ Birkhan (1979: 80).

¹¹⁴ Bammesberger (1986: 71).

seen, the paradigm of the strong verbs represents a blend of the IE perfect and aorist. He points out that in the 2nd person plural of the preterite-present verbs the inherited perfect paradigm (which by now had lost its reduplication in these verbs¹¹⁵) coincided with the athematic root aorist paradigm. Thus, following Bammesberger and taking the verb **weid-* as an example, it can be seen that the form seen in the 2nd person plural **wid-te* (> **wisse*) was most probably originally common to both the perfect and aorist paradigm. However, on the basis of the 3rd person plural (Gothic *witun*, Gmc **witun* < **witur* < IE **wid-r-*), the perfect stem form **wit-u-* became generalized in the plural paradigm, giving rise to a new 2nd person plural form **wit-up* (Gothic *witup*). This allowed the aorist form **wiss-e* (< **wid-te*) to form the basis of a new preterite paradigm, and thus take on the personal endings characterizing the weak preterite, e.g. **wiss-ō(m)*, **wiss-ēs*, **wiss-ē(h)* etc. In summary then, the preterite forms of the preterite-present verbs can, according to Bammesberger, be explained on the basis of the 2nd person plural ending, which itself represents a merger of the IE perfect and athematic root aorist. Furthermore, such an origin in an IE **-t-* can, as previously stated, explain all the variant forms taken by the dental preterite in the preterite-present verbs.

Bammesberger begins his treatment of the primary j-presents by asserting that because they represent primary formations, it is almost certain that at one time they could form a perfect and aorist. He divides them into two broad types. The first type comprises j-present verbs from roots in *e* or *a*, e.g. Gmc **setjanan* (ON *sitja*, OS *sittian*), which became integrated into classes V and VI respectively of the strong verb inflectional system. The second type comprises j-presents from roots taking the zero-grade of ablaut which form a preterite corresponding to the class I weak verb type, e.g. Gmc **wurkjanan* (Gothic *wurkjan*, OHG *wurken* etc.). The process whereby this latter group of primary j-presents formed with the zero-grade of ablaut came to possess a weak preterite is, according to Bammesberger, essentially the same as that which took place in the preterite-present verbs.

The weak verbs of classes I-IV, on the other hand, are according to Bammesberger, most convincingly explained by the composition theory. He begins by stating that, in contrast to the preterite-present and j-present verbs, the majority of weak verbs of classes I-IV represent secondary formations: “Von den primären y-Präsentien und vielleicht einigen Verben auf *-ā* abgesehen, sind alle Verben der vier schwachen Klassen des Germanischen sekundären

¹¹⁵ See Szemerényi (1990: 312-315) for a more detailed discussion of reduplication in IE and its gradual and systematic demise in Gmc.

Ursprungs”¹¹⁶. However, we shall see that the present thesis yields a fairly significant number of verbs of classes II and III which the data reveals to be primary rather than secondary. Following on from this, Bammesberger points out that secondary verbs in IE appear originally only to have had present-based forms¹¹⁷, a situation which presumably must also have applied at a very early stage of Gmc¹¹⁸. As the Gmc secondary verbs lacked non-present forms, a periphrastic construction involving “to do” could consequently meet this need. Furthermore, a derivation from IE **dhē-* is fully able to explain the dental *-d-* found in the preterite of the “regular” weak verbs of classes I-IV (i.e. those taking a medial vowel in their preterite).

Before we progress to 1.2. a final point should be noted concerning the Gmc weak verb, although much of what will be said has already come into the previous discussion on the origin of the dental preterite.

The majority of the Gmc weak verbs are secondary in nature, yet there are, as has previously been mentioned, a number of weak verbs which, as the data will reveal, cannot be shown to derive from any other lexical item in Gmc, but are clearly related to forms occurring in the IE languages outside the Gmc group (see 4.3.1., 4.3.2., 4.3.3., 4.3.4.). As these verbs are primary (at least primary in terms of Gmc, although they may well represent derivations formed during the IE period), they thus represent a highly archaic stage in the development of the weak verb¹¹⁹. The weak verbs can consequently be divided into two main groups:

1. Primary verbs, which added a **-j-* suffix to form the present tense stem after the verb root and before the inflectional endings in IE¹²⁰.

2. Secondary or derivative verbs, which were originally distinguished from primary verbs by the presence of a thematic vowel preceding this present stem forming **-j-* suffix, both vowel and **-j-* element inserted between the root and the inflectional endings of the verb. It is generally assumed that these thematic vowels were **-e-*, **-i-*, **-ō-* and **-ē-* in Gmc¹²¹, and this system is used

¹¹⁶ Bammesberger (1986: 83).

¹¹⁷ Bammesberger (1986: 68). Compare for example the periphrastic perfect construction used by secondary verbs in Sanskrit (see earlier), and the k-perfect used by derived verbs in Greek, e.g. *πεπαίδευκα* beside *παιδεύω* “I bring up, rear”, both constructions representing later innovations.

¹¹⁸ Bammesberger (1986: 85).

¹¹⁹ For the implications of this archaic, primary status, see 1.4.

¹²⁰ This can be seen in the Sanskrit present class IV verbs which add *-y-* (= **-j-*) to the root, e.g. *nahyati* “he binds” (Macdonell 1993: 84).

¹²¹ The thematic vowel **e* which originally bore the accent in IE (and in the early stages of Gmc as can be seen from the operation of Verner’s Law in verbs with this suffix) was normally used in causative deverbative formations in Gmc which also regularly took the zero grade of ablaut in the vowel of their root syllable, while the vowel **i* which was unstressed occurred in

by Seebold in his etymological reconstructions¹²². Those verbs with stems ending in the thematic vowels **-e-* and **-i-* then merged with the primary verbs in **-j-* to form the first class of weak verbs, while those containing the thematic vowels **-ō-* and **-ā-* became the second and third classes respectively. It should be noted, however, that none of the historically attested forms of the Gmc languages exhibit the distinctions in their thematic vowel which originally occurred between the various types of class I verbs. Such distinctions can only therefore be evinced from the etymology of the verb. It should further be observed that most authorities actually count four classes of weak verb¹²³. However, the fourth class of weak verb occurs only in Gothic¹²⁴. Furthermore, a Gmc rather than purely Gothic status for the fourth class is also much disputed¹²⁵. The so-called Gmc fourth class need not therefore concern the present work.

1.3. Previous Related Work

As the reader will recall from section 1.2., the most significant of the numerous attempts made to explain or survey the problem of the origin and development of the Gmc weak verbs have already been outlined and commented upon. As there is no need to repeat these studies here, we shall therefore begin by examining the previous etymological dictionaries of the OHG weak verbs which have been compiled.

Etymologies of individual OHG weak verbs can be found in a number of etymological dictionaries. The most important and comprehensive of these are: Kluge (22nd edition ed. Seebold 1989), which takes NHG lexemes as its starting point; Pfeifer (1989: Vols I-II), which is basically the same as Kluge in its approach and methodological procedures, taking NHG lexemes as its starting point; Schade (1882: Vols I-II), which takes OHG lexemes as its starting point, although it is not fully comprehensive and is now somewhat outdated, containing a number of inaccuracies; Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings (1968-: Vol. I

denominative or deadjectival formations. The usage and development of these thematic vowels from IE to Gmc is discussed in detail in Krämer (1971: 12-22) and Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 244-249).

¹²² Seebold (1970) and Kluge (22nd edition, ed. Seebold 1989). It is also used by Onions (1966).

¹²³ Thus Braune (1981), Krahe (II 1969), Krämer (1971), Prokosch (1939).

¹²⁴ The ON verbs in *-na* are often counted as vestiges of the fourth class, but it should be observed that they do not form in ON an inflectional class distinct from class II (Haugen 1976: 158).

¹²⁵ See, in particular, West (1990: 191-198) and Annerholm (1956).

A-B and supplements C-F) which takes OHG lexemes as its starting point but, though comprehensive, has only reached the end of the entries for 'F'; Lexer (1872-1878: Vols I-III), which takes MHG as its starting point but is nevertheless important, as it can often contain material from MHG sources which, although antedating MHG (as can be shown by the presence of cognates in the related Gmc languages), is not attested in OHG. As well as the above dictionaries which examine the etymology of the German lexicon, the etymological dictionary of the entire IE language group edited by Pokorny (1959-1969: Vols I-II) should be mentioned. This lists groups of related lexemes from all the IE languages under the entry given for their hypothetical IE root and therefore provides an important source of information when relating lexemes attested in the Gmc languages to those occurring in the related IE languages outside Gmc where a relationship exists.

There are a number of works which deal with word formation within Gmc, including the derivational patterns of the weak verbs. Of these, I can begin by outlining Wilmanns (Vol. II 1930) which examines the derivational morphology of the Gmc weak verbs. It essentially groups the Gmc verbs into denominatives, deadjectives, deverbatives and prefix formations (the derivational categories into which the weak verbs presented in this thesis are discussed further at 2.4.), and analyzes these together with any semantic functions indicated by each of the class endings of the weak verbs (the system of semantic classification for the weak verbs presented in this thesis is outlined in detail at 2.5.).

Krahe and Meid (III 1969)¹²⁶ also represents a study of the derivational morphology of the Gmc weak verbs. Like Wilmanns, this work groups the weak verbs into denominative, deadjectival, deverbative and prefix formations, but in addition attempts to relate the various categories of weak verb to parallel derivations in the various IE languages in an attempt to find IE evidence or motivation for them. Semantic factors relating to the derivational categories of the weak verb are also examined, especially in respect to the relationship between a specific semantic function and the suffixes used to mark the class endings of the weak verbs. These same suffixes used to form the various stems of the weak verbs in Gmc are also examined in relation to their IE origins as present tense stem formants.

A more detailed account of the morpho-semantics of the weak verbs can be found in Krämer (1971). This work attempts to outline the form and meaning

¹²⁶ See, in particular, Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 35-44, 230-234, 238-250, 259-265).

of the suffixes¹²⁷ marking the individual weak verb classes in their development from IE to their survival in the modern German *Walser* and *Lötschental* dialects spoken in the Canton of Valais in south western Switzerland¹²⁸. Krämer shows that the suffixes used to distinguish the inflectional classes of the Gmc weak verbs¹²⁹ were originally simply present tense markers, having no individual meaning and expressing at best nuances in verbal aspect¹³⁰. Their main function in the majority of cases was therefore to act as suffixes or morphemes which facilitated the process of deriving new verbs from existing substantives, verbs and adjectives¹³¹. It was then only during the Gmc period that specific semantic functions came to be attached to these suffixes, or rather to the weak verb classes formed with these suffixes as a whole. It can thus be observed that class I came to be used to form derivations with a causative or factitive relation to their derivational base, e.g. Gmc class I **fallejanan* “to fell, cause to fall” beside the Gmc strong verb **fallanan* “to fall”, Gmc class I **fullijanan* “to make full, fill” beside the Gmc adjective **fullaz* “full”. Krämer, however, still accepts the existence of a fourth class in Gmc and sees class IV weak verbs as exhibiting an inchoative meaning in formal semantic opposition to the causative/factitive class I weak verbs. Class II, on the other hand, was primarily used to form intensive or frequentative verbs, while the main semantic function accorded to class III was in the formation of durative verbs¹³². The same author also makes the important point that, in the case of verbs formed with intensive or expressive gemination, these geminated consonants took over the functional semantic load from the suffix marking the inflectional class¹³³.

He subsequently shows that by the time of the OHG period the Gmc system, whereby an inflectional class possessed a specific semantic function, and the corresponding formal semantic opposition between the classes which resulted from this, had become considerably eroded. Consequently, OHG is characterized by the presence of numerous class II formations which exist beside class I and class III verbs and which possess the same semantic function as these class I and III verbs. Thus, Krämer outlines the relationship between semantic function and inflectional class in OHG as follows: Class I verbs were still essentially causative/factitive (though, according to Krämer, no longer productive in this respect); class III verbs durative and/or inchoative; class III

¹²⁷ The term preferred by Krämer is ‘morpheme’ rather than ‘suffix’.

¹²⁸ For more details of these dialects see Henzen (1940: 271-308).

¹²⁹ These suffixes are discussed in 1.2. above.

¹³⁰ Krämer (1971: 11-26, 78).

¹³¹ Krämer (1971: 78).

¹³² Krämer (1971: 26-30, 34-35, 133).

¹³³ Krämer (1971: 40-44).

verbs could be frequentative, intensive, instrumental, factitive, durative or inchoative in nature¹³⁴. Krämer summarizes by stating that the semantic function of the suffixes used to form the inflectional classes of the weak verb had undergone a transformation both before and during the OHG period to the extent that a system which distinguished nuances in aspect (and which frequently employed prefixes to this end¹³⁵) rather than one based on individual class meanings, was now operative¹³⁶.

Finally, Brugmann (1905) and Meillet (1912) should be noted, as they represent two extremely important works of research into IE philology. Although now dated in many respects, the sheer size and scope of detailed information which they contain makes them invaluable as reference works for any historical linguist. These works present detailed accounts of the IE verb system, encompassing the categories and types of tense formation employed in the various IE languages including Gmc. They are consequently extremely important for any study of the Gmc weak verb, as their extensive surveys of the verbal system of IE can be used as a valuable source of reference when faced with the problem of relating the Gmc weak verb to IE.

However, as has already been remarked upon in 1.1., it is important to note that the majority of the above works do not study the OHG weak verbs in their entirety. This in effect means that they do not examine the OHG weak verbs as a complete group or category, but concentrate rather on certain important or interesting aspects relating to the weak verb, such as the problem of the dental preterite or the semantic nature and function of the suffixes marking the inflectional classes. Thus, one study which examines the dental preterite may completely ignore the possible relevance of morpho-semantic categories within the weak verb system, and vice versa. Consequently, their approach is not, as a rule, one which employs a systematic investigation into the various derivational and semantic groupings of the weak verb in order to extrapolate further evidence or information in relation to the origin and development of the weak verb.

Traditional works of research such as those mentioned or discussed above have also tended to overemphasize the IE aspect to etymological investigations of the OHG weak verb - in other words they have usually concentrated too much on trying to relate the weak verb to IE forms, rather than

¹³⁴ Krämer (1971: 55-69, 80).

¹³⁵ Krämer (1971: 59-60). For the semantic function of the various verbal prefixes in OHG see 5.7.4. of this work and Wissmann (II 1930). A more detailed account of verbal aspect in Gmc can be found in Senn (1949: 402-409).

¹³⁶ Krämer (1971: 55-69, 80).

looking at the relationship to each other of the lexical items present within Gmc. Their approach has consequently been one which works forwards from IE to Gmc and/or OHG, relationships being established between hypothetical IE roots and forms attested in Gmc on the basis of sound laws.

Nevertheless, there are two important exceptions to this. The first of these is represented by Seebold's *Vergleichendes und etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen starken Verben* (1970). This examines the Gmc strong verbs in their entirety, beginning each entry with the reconstructed Gmc form of the verb and then listing the attested forms of each verb as they occurred in each of the Gmc languages, that is, of course, where such forms are attested. In addition to this, prefix formations from the strong verb are also listed, attested forms in each of the Gmc languages being quoted, where extant. Following this a comprehensive account is given of the various lexemes, whether verbal, adjectival or substantival, which may represent derivations from the strong verb in question. Finally, Seebold examines the etymology of the strong verb in question, quoting parallel or cognate forms in the IE branches outside Gmc, which then allow him to relate the Gmc strong verb to a proposed IE root. Morphological and semantic features characterising the development of the strong verb from IE to Gmc are also commented upon, where appropriate.

The second of these is represented by Skinner's *The Etymology of the Gothic Weak Verbs* (1994). The approach taken in this work is, in essence, very similar to that of the present thesis. Thus, the Gothic weak verbs are examined in their entirety, each verb being analysed according to the linguistic period of its formation and assigned to one of three strata marking the chronological development of the Gothic language, i.e. to a pre-Gmc or IE stratum, a Gmc stratum and a Gothic stratum. Verbs belonging to the younger two strata are then further analysed according to the method of their derivation, i.e. their derivational profile, and accordingly classified as prefix formations, denominative, deverbative or deadjectival verbs. The aim of Skinner's work on the Gothic weak verbs corresponds to that of the present thesis (see 1.4. below), this being to identify and establish key morpho-semantic features or trends which may help trace the growth and development of the weak verb formation in Gmc and its descendant languages. Indeed, as stated in 1.1., both Skinner's work on the etymology of the Gothic weak verbs and this thesis are intended to eventually form part of a larger project covering each of the Gmc languages and which, as discussed, is hoped will offer a comprehensive data-set providing invaluable evidence relating to the origin and growth of the weak verb in Gmc

and its subsequent development in each of the descendent daughter languages of Gmc.

1.4. A Hypothesis

While most traditional approaches such as those outlined in the previous section work forwards from hypothetical IE roots to Gmc and/or from Gmc to OHG, this thesis will work backwards chronologically, taking as its starting point forms actually attested in OHG. Evidence will therefore be collected in the form of real, non-hypothetical data which will then be used to infer unattested, hypothetical, antecedent forms from which conclusions can be drawn about earlier stages of the language. In other words, the present thesis will have the logical approach of working from what is known to what is unknown, rather than vice versa, and will consequently let conclusions emerge from the data rather than let the data be analysed in accordance with hypothetical, reconstructed Gmc or IE roots. An approach based on attested OHG forms also means that the OHG weak verbs may be studied in their entirety, therefore enabling, as previously stated, a more exhaustive and systematic etymology of the weak verbs than has hitherto been the case.

It is consequently hoped that this method of approach will proffer a significant contribution towards a greater understanding of the origin and development of the weak verbs by assigning them to chronological strata and, at the same time, categorizing them into derivational groups, thus enabling a key group of verbs to be isolated which may represent the very first verbs which formed the pattern from which the weak verbs derived. Having isolated this group, they can then be analysed in-depth with an aim to discovering significant morphological and semantic features possessed by this group of verbs and hence possible reasons or incentives for their adoption of such an innovative system of marking the preterite as the dental suffix. Furthermore, in isolating this group, it might be possible to throw more light on how the Gmc weak verbs relate to the verbal system inherited from IE, which in turn may provide possible explanations as to the origin of the dental suffix. We shall now discuss the techniques used to single out this key group of verbs which represent the earliest examples of weak verbs.

As stated previously, the principle objective of this thesis is to establish a relative chronology for the derivation of the OHG weak verbs. This is achieved by stratifying diachronically the OHG weak verbs into the various

periods of their formation. Five different strata are distinguished: Indo-European (IE), Germanic, NWGmc, WGmc and OHG. Verbs are traced to one of these strata depending on the existence of cognates in related languages of the Gmc group. The term “cognates”, it should be noted, refers to lexemes, i.e. not root etymologies, which are descended from a common source, a fact which is shown by “systematic phonetic and, often, semantic similarities”¹³⁷. The methods used to ascertain such phonetic and semantic similarities together with the general principles of historical reconstruction, which allow us to stratify the OHG weak verbs will be explained in more detail in Chapter Two.

In taking the diachronic approach explained above we can thereby trace the development of the weak verb in Gmc from its origins to its appearance in the written records of OHG. It is important to trace the pattern of development of the weak verbs, as this development marks a continuous and dynamic process of expansion and evolution - in other words we are not dealing with a static phenomenon when examining the weak verbs. It is also important to stratify the weak verbs diachronically as this should yield a number of verbs which are old in terms of relative chronology. We can now explain the significance that this primary status has in respect to the problem of the origin of the weak verbs.

It will be recalled that the overwhelming majority of weak verbs are secondary while the strong verbs are, for the most part, primary representing inherited relics from IE. However, as has already been stated, there do exist a number of weak verbs which cannot be shown to derive from any other lexical item in Gmc, but which are clearly related to forms occurring in the IE languages outside the Gmc group. It is precisely these verbs that are of especial interest as they must consequently be old in terms of relative chronology, a fact which can be supported in two ways.

Firstly, the absence of appropriate derivational bases in OHG or the other Gmc languages excludes us from ascribing to them a derivational profile and place in the younger strata. Secondly, the presence of related forms in the IE languages outside Gmc points to an ancient, possibly inherited, origin for such verbs.

It should be noted in connection with this statement, however, that the absence of an attested derivational base does not automatically exclude a verb from an origin in the younger strata (such may have existed but had died out by the time of the first attested records), or allow the conclusion to be reached that it is inherited from IE. For example, the OHG class I weak verb *luhhen* “to wash, bathe” cannot be shown to derive from a lexeme attested in OHG or the

¹³⁷ O’Grady & Dobrovolsky (1989: 210).

other Gmc languages, although forms exist in many of the IE languages outside Gmc which are clearly distantly related to this verb deriving from the same hypothetical IE root (for details of these see the entry for this verb in the data section, Chapter Four). However, the OHG verb differs too radically in its morphological form (it is extended with a guttural element which is lacking in the verbs from the other IE languages) to assume that it is actually cognate with these IE forms outside Gmc. It must therefore represent a post-IE derivation, having been formed by a derivational process the precise details of which cannot be ascertained on the available data.

Indeed, many verbs which lack a suitable derivational base represent onomatopoeic or sound symbolic creations and/or variations. Although they may have taken their inspiration from other similar, or distantly related lexemes, they are usually only loosely connected to such lexemes. For example, the OHG class I weak verb *fnattōn* “to pant, gasp” belongs to a sound symbolic group centred on the initial consonant cluster *fn-* on which a large number of formations are based within the Gmc languages and which has a parallel outside Gmc (for details of these see the entry for *fnattōn* in the data section, Chapter Three). However, the formations centred around this consonant cluster are too diverse phonologically and morphologically to allow for any firm conclusions to be drawn concerning their derivational patterns and relationships at this stage. For a more detailed discussion of onomatopoeic and sound symbolic formations, the reader should refer to 4.5.6.

Having isolated these primary verbs, their morphological structure and semantic significance can then be analysed in the hope of ascertaining which morphological type, or types, of weak verb first became inflected according to the weak inflection and what, if any, semantic significance they may have had.

It is also hoped that such an investigation will show which class or classes emerged first and which was productive at what period. It may also show what, if any, semantic relationship was denoted by the weak verb classes in the various strata - in other words whether distinct relations exist between the derivational pattern of a given weak verb or group of verbs and the conjugational class to which this verb or group of verbs is assigned. Following on from this it may therefore be possible to unearth significant roles played by the morpho-semantics of a given weak verb in determining the conjugational class to which it is assigned.

In summary, then, this thesis aims to produce important insights into the following areas:

1. The overall growth and development of the weak verb from the Gmc stratum through to OHG. This can be gained by stratifying the OHG weak verbs diachronically and thereby establishing a relative chronology.

2. The relative importance and productivity of each of the three classes of weak verb during each specific stratum (on the status of the so-called fourth class of weak verb and the problems associated with it, see 1.2.).

3. The semantic functions, if any, assigned to each of the three classes of weak verb during each specific stratum, and, by extension, how these functions may have changed during the course of the development of the weak verb.

4. The significance of key morphological features, such as extensions, ablaut grades, gemination or prefixes, possessed by certain derivational types or groups. More specifically, what morphological, or indeed morpho-semantic (the two are usually interrelated), features were common at what period and what importance they may have had. Also, what significance a derived verb's morphological structure may have had in assigning it to one of the three inflectional classes.

5. The isolation of a distinct set of weak verbs which can be shown to be primary in nature. This set will thus constitute the nucleus or starting point for the weak inflection in Gmc. Having isolated this group its representatives can be analysed morpho-semantically and in respect to their relationship to forms in the IE languages outside Gmc. If possible, any factors which may have been responsible for the motivation and adoption of the dental preterite will be brought to light. It is hoped that such an analysis may contribute towards a greater understanding of the origin of the weak verbs and the role played by the earliest weak verbs.

1.5. Summary

In this chapter the subject matter of the present thesis has been outlined together with the problem confronting it. The implications of this problem have been explored and a possible solution has been proposed, or rather a system of investigation has been presented which may contribute to a greater understanding of the problem, for this thesis on its own will be unable to provide a complete answer to the origin of the weak verb in Gmc.

Having done this, a discussion of the methods which have been followed in support of this hypothesis can now be given. This discussion constitutes the next chapter, Chapter Two.

2.

METHODOLOGY

2.1. Preliminary

In Chapter One, the subject of this thesis was outlined and the problem which such an investigation of the OHG weak verbs faces discussed. The implications of this problem were then explored and a system of investigation presented which, it is hoped, will contribute towards a greater understanding of the uncertainties surrounding the origin and development of the weak verb. This present chapter will now focus on the methodology of such a system of investigation in greater detail. The methodological approach taken is essentially quite straightforward, and may be summarized as follows: the OHG weak verbs are listed and assigned, according to etymological evidence, to an OHG, West Germanic, North West Germanic or Germanic stratum. As explained in Chapter One, such a chronologically organized data-set will allow us to view significant patterns or trends among the weak verbs and therefore, it is hoped, enable us to draw important conclusions concerning the origin and development of the weak verb in Germanic and OHG. However, such a system of data collection and analysis inevitably involves a number of problems, and these problems, and the approaches and strategies adopted to deal with them, will also receive full discussion throughout the present chapter.

2.2. Sources

The main source for the weak verbs contained in the data section has been Raven's two volume *Die schwachen Verben des althochdeutschen* (1963). This is the most comprehensive list of the OHG weak verbs which has so far been published. Nevertheless, it does contain a number of omissions and has the major disadvantage of failing to use an effective system of standardization when quoting verbs. I have consequently supplemented Raven as a source for the OHG weak verbs with Starck and Wells' *Althochdeutsches Glossenwörterbuch* (1989) which standardizes its lexemes in an effective manner. I have also supplemented the above texts, though to a lesser extent, with Karg-Gasterstädt and Fring's *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch* which, despite being the most accurate and comprehensive record of the OHG lexicon, is only of limited use as it has so far yielded only one volume covering A-B and a series of supplements

which have not gone beyond F. In addition to the above, source material has occasionally been taken from Schützeichel's *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*. Schade's two volume *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch* (1882) has sometimes been referred to, though this is unreliable as it frequently fails to make an adequate distinction between OHG and MHG, listing many lexemes strictly belonging to the latter as the former. In addition to this, many lexemes listed in Schade cannot be confirmed from other sources and are accordingly to be treated with caution.

It is important to note at this stage, however, that OHG was never a homogenous language with a standard literary and orthographical norm. Instead, it represents a collection of diverse texts stemming from separate monasteries and written according to various orthographical conventions. This presents a number of problems, as a given lexeme will consequently be attested in several orthographic and dialectal variant forms rather than a single standardized, universal form. This obviously has the effect of obscuring the status of OHG as a language in its own right. Furthermore, if all dialectal and orthographic variants of a single lexeme were included, the data would become considerably large and unwieldy, and would thus make it more difficult to show the etymological and morphological relations between the OHG weak verbs and related lexemes which this thesis hopes to establish. To combat these drawbacks a system of standardization is therefore required, in which an idealized lexeme serves as the representative of one or more word forms or orthographic variants. The use of such a system of standardization is perfectly justified on the grounds that this thesis is an examination of the origin and morpho-semantic development of the weak verb from Gmc to OHG, and not a detailed investigation of the dialects, monastic traditions and orthographic conventions comprising OHG.

The method of orthographic standardization for OHG used in the present work generally follows the system established by Wilhelm Braune¹. It is based on the East Franconian dialect of OHG which appears in the OHG version of Tatian's gospel harmony from the monastery of Fulda². The adoption of East Franconian as a standard form has a number of advantages as it corresponds in a straightforward way both to the orthography of MHG and is standardized to the consonant system of NHG³. The system used by Braune has also been used by Starck and Wells in their *Althochdeutsches Glossenwörterbuch* (1990), but with the following exceptions: <d> is used in place of <th>, and <w> in place of

¹ Braune & Mitzka (1967: 11; 88).

² König (1989: 67).

³ Braune & Mitzka (1967: 88).

<uu>. As stated above, the *Althochdeutsches Glossenwörterbuch* of Starck and Wells has provided an important source text for the OHG and OS weak verbs and their derivational bases included in the present work, and many of the standardized forms appearing here have thus been taken directly from Starck and Wells. The present work has therefore adopted the use of <d> in place of <th> for OHG cited forms, and <w> in place of <uu> or <u> (when this latter represents a semi-vowel) for both OHG and OS cited forms. However, for OHG I have taken the system of normalization employed by Braune and Starck and Wells a stage further by adopting the convention of representing initial <qu> by <kw>. I have chosen to do this, as <q> simply represents an orthographic variant of [k] when followed by the semi-vowel [w], and which came to be used in OHG under the influence of the Latin orthographic system. As a result, <q> may be regarded as a redundant orthographic symbol which merely serves to obscure the etymological relationship of OHG lexemes involving the initial consonant group [kw] to reconstructed Gmc forms in **kw-* and, further afield, to reconstructed IE forms in **gw-*. It should be noted here, however, that OS, OE, ON and Gothic forms involving the initial consonant sequence [kw] have been quoted in the normal systems of standardization for these languages, i.e. <qu>, <cw>, <kv> and <q> respectively.

It should also be noted that our knowledge of OHG and the remaining Gmc languages is also greatly affected by the fact that written corpora and attested forms are often extremely limited in both size and scope in the earliest recorded stages of the Gmc languages. This is most notable in respect to Gothic, which is attested principally through certain texts representing translations from the Greek version of the New Testament. The restriction of Gothic sources to largely Biblical texts thus means that Gothic is attested in detail only in one particular style and register. It may therefore be assumed that many Gothic lexemes which may actually have existed, have simply not been recorded for posterity. In addition to this factor, Gothic represents the only attested language belonging to the East Gmc sub-group and, in the absence of recorded forms from the other East Gmc languages or dialects such as Vandal or Burgundian, our picture of this entire sub-group may be considerably distorted.

Consequently, many forms which have been reconstructed as belonging to the NWGmc stratum may in fact date back to the earlier Gmc stratum, the Gothic or East Gmc cognate form which existed unfortunately not having found its way into any written monuments. A similar situation exists with OS, early written monuments in this language being restricted to the *Heliand* and the *Old Saxon Genesis*, as well as a few minor texts. Consequently, when deciding

whether an OHG weak verb or similar lexeme should be assigned to the WGmc stratum, considerable emphasis must be placed on OE, as this represents the only early WGmc language comparable to OHG in respect of the extent of its written corpus. This overemphasis on OE cognate forms may thus lead to a somewhat distorted picture of the WGmc sub-group, and will be borne in mind when drawing conclusions (Chapter Four).

Although problems concerning the limitation of a written corpus most acutely affect our knowledge of Gothic and OS, they also make themselves felt in the more extensively attested Gmc languages such as OHG, OE and ON. The first written monuments of these languages appear relatively late, and it is therefore possible that certain lexemes had already become obsolete or had died out by the time that most of the texts were written. It should be noted, of course, that an earlier form of ON is actually attested, this being Runic Norse (see 2.3.). However, written forms of Runic Norse are extremely limited in scope and extent, being confined to short, often incomplete, inscriptions made on loose objects or stones, many of which are very difficult to interpret⁴. In addition to this, these same languages (i.e. OHG, OE and ON) have, as we have already seen, been heavily subjected to influence from the Christian church and the monastic tradition. As a result of this, their lexicon has adopted a significant number of Latin loan words and loan translations in the written texts which have come down to us.

Furthermore, ecclesiastical Latin and Christianity in general also appear to have affected existing meanings possessed by Gmc verbs. Although the majority of loan words from Latin would have been used to express or transmit concepts and ideas unknown to the pagan Germans and relating to Christian thought and learning, and for which no native word would have existed, in certain cases loan words may have come to replace already existing native terms. This loss or replacement of native terms would have been particularly acute among words referring to the Gmc tribal way of life and pagan religious practices. Such terms would undoubtedly have formed an important element within the lexicon of the ancient Gmc heroic poetry, but would have become obsolescent with the coming of Christianity⁵. Nevertheless, many such native pagan terms came to be used as loan translations in the Gmc languages, expressing Christian concepts and ideas, and were thus able to survive⁶. Loan words and translations will be discussed further in 2.4 and 4.7.5.).

⁴ Haugen (1976: 113).

⁵ See Eggers (1986: 225).

⁶ See Eggers (1986: 111-147). A typical example of such a word is represented by OHG *hella* which originally referred to the Gmc pagan abode of the dead, however this may have been

Finally, a number of verbs have been included in the data which are not actually attested in OHG, but the existence of which can be inferred from other OHG or Gmc forms. For example, that a simplex verb existed in OHG may be deduced from the fact that a prefix formation is attested which clearly derives from this simplex. Likewise, an OHG verb may be inferred from the presence of an attested form in MHG together with the existence of cognates in one or more of the other Gmc languages, these cognates indicating that such a verb must antedate the MHG period. Such reconstructed verbs are marked with an asterisk (*) to indicate that they are reconstructed and not attested forms, e.g. *fāren.

2.3. Chronology and Stratification

As has already been stated, a relative chronology must be established for the OHG weak verbs if a satisfactory analysis is to be achieved which charts their growth and development from their earliest representatives in the Gmc era to their attestations in the written corpora of the OHG period. In other words, we must identify the particular historical stratum during which a given OHG weak verb originated. This is achieved by revealing the existence of related, or to be more precise, cognate verbs in the Gmc languages outside OHG (the factors involved in the identification of cognates are discussed in more detail below). The presence of such cognates allows us to establish a “genetic” link between the languages containing the cognate forms, and thus to reveal an earlier stage in their evolution in which they belonged to a common language. This common “parent” language marks a distinct chronological stage in the historical development of its descendent “daughter” languages, and can consequently be seen as forming part of a specific period or stratum. The normal evolution of a language group usually involves several distinct stages of development or strata whereby a common parent splits into several groups and subgroups.

The evolution of the Gmc group and the corresponding genetic and chronological relationships within it has received considerable research⁷. The most widely accepted view sees the parent Gmc language as having initially split into two subgroups, East Gmc and NWGmc.

conceived, but which was then used to translate the ecclesiastical Latin *infernus* and thus to express the Christian idea of hell, for a discussion of which see Eggers (1986: 130). A more detailed account of the influence of Latin on OHG can be found in Betz (1936) and Betz (1949).

⁷ For a detailed discussion and summary of existing research into the relationships between the individual members of the Gmc group, the reader should refer to Nielsen (1989), Kuhn (1955-56), Kufner (1972).

East Gmc probably comprised a number of dialects or languages spoken by the Burgundians, Vandals, Rugians, Gepids and Herulians, but it is Gothic which represents the only member of this subgroup for which extensive textual evidence survives, this being the Visigothic translation of the Bible ascribed to the Arian bishop Ulfilas, the *Skeireins* (a commentary on the Gospel of John) and other lesser texts. In addition to this a few inscriptions and proper names survive, although these are extremely short⁸. Gothic is of extreme importance to Gmc philology as it provides the oldest large corpus of text in a Gmc language. Gothic is also greatly important on account of the fact that it preserves a number of archaic features, most notably a dual number in verbs and pronouns, an inflected present passive, an absence of j-umlaut, and the retention of a significant number of reduplicated forms which were not retained in the Gmc languages outside Gothic⁹. In addition to this, a form of Gothic is recorded as having been spoken in the Crimea, by a Flemish nobleman Busbecq, who subsequently noted some hundred separate linguistic forms in a letter dated 1562¹⁰. Although limited and problematic in terms of how accurate the attested forms actually are, Crimean Gothic does offer a small degree of extra information which supplements our knowledge of Gothic drawn from Ulfilas' Bible translation and other related texts.

Following the division of Gmc into the NWGmc and East Gmc subgroups, NWGmc underwent a further binary split which resulted in the formation of two subgroups, WGmc and North Gmc.

The North Gmc group comprises the Scandinavian languages: Icelandic, Faroese, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish. North Gmc is attested from inscriptions in the runic alphabet beginning about 200AD. These inscriptions, the majority of which have been found over an area roughly corresponding to modern Norway, Sweden and Denmark, mostly consist of only a few words and are frequently very difficult to interpret¹¹. They are nevertheless extremely important for Gmc philology as they represent, along with Gothic, the earliest recorded forms of a Gmc language (except for the isolated evidence of the Negau helmet discovered in what is now Slovenia and bearing the inscription *harixastiteiva* which is usually translated as "to army-guest (or army-host), the god", this believed to be a dedication to a Germanic war god. The inscription is in a north Italian or Etruscan alphabet, which has lead the inscription to be dated epigraphically to the second century BC, as the Latin alphabet is held to have

⁸ Braune & Ebbinghaus (1981: 2ff.).

⁹ For more details of these features see Braune & Ebbinghaus (1981).

¹⁰ Stearns (1978), which represents the most extensive discussion of Crimean Gothic.

¹¹ These runic inscriptions can be found in Krause (1966) as well as Krause (1971).

largely superseded the Etruscan by around 90 BC. However, archaeologists suggest that the helmet bearing the inscription may date to as late as 100 AD¹². The language of these inscriptions is remarkably unified and is referred to in this thesis as Runic Norse (which corresponds to the German term *Urnordisch*) and extends from around 200 to 800 AD, although some authorities limit the final period of Runic Norse to about 600 AD¹³. Although the vocabulary of Runic Norse is restricted owing to the terse nature of its inscriptions, the language has important insights for Gmc philology as its phonology exhibits conservative traits and remains very close to that which can be reconstructed for NWGmc¹⁴.

In the period 800 to 1100 AD, North Gmc and its dialects divided into two subgroups, East Norse, composed of Swedish and Danish, and West Norse which comprises Icelandic, Faroese and Norwegian. The West Norse dating from this period until around 1400 AD is referred to in this thesis as Old Norse (ON), ON encompassing the dialects of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian, which are very similar and may be regarded as part of a single language. It should be noted here that some authorities use the term ON to describe all forms of the North Gmc languages from the earliest runic inscriptions until about 1400 AD¹⁵, but this usage is somewhat vague, and the more concise usage of the term ON defined above is therefore preferred in the present work.

The earliest recorded languages of the West Gmc group are: Old High German (OHG) which is first attested in the eighth century AD and extends to about 1050 AD, after which it enters the Middle High German (MHG) period; Old Saxon (OS) which is first attested in the ninth century AD and extends until about 1200 AD, the period following being referred to as Middle Low German (MLG); Old Low Franconian (OLF) which does not present us with any extensive records until after 1200 AD when it becomes Middle Dutch (MDu.); Old Frisian (OFs.) which is not attested until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, much later than the other WGmc languages; Old English (OE) which is first attested in the eighth century AD and which extends to around 1100 AD, the period following being classified as Middle English.

Although OE and OHG are relatively well attested, records of OS and, especially, OLF are limited in comparison. Hence, apart from several lesser texts, the most important early records of OS are confined to the *Hēliand* and

¹² Keller (1978: 67).

¹³ Thus Krahe (1969: 33) dates “*Urnordisch*” as lasting until 800AD, while Haugen limits the status of “Runic” to being “the language of the oldest runic inscriptions (before 550-600AD)” (1976: 123).

¹⁴ For details of the phonological and morphological features of Runic Norse, see Krause (1971) and Antonsen (1975).

¹⁵ See Noreen (1971).

the OS *Genesis*, while OLF is known only through a few surviving fragments of an interlinear version of the Psalms. Furthermore, both OS and OLF have probably been greatly influenced by OHG from the earliest times onwards.

The relationships between the members of the WGmc group are much disputed and WGmc appears always to have been relatively diverse linguistically, in contrast to the North Gmc group¹⁶. Nevertheless, OE, OFs. and OS appear to possess a number of features in common, such as the loss of the nasal element and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in words such as OE *mūþ* and OS *mūth* in contrast to OHG *mund* “mouth”, and may consequently be grouped loosely together under the heading North Sea Gmc or Ingvæonic, although the status of OS is more complex than this as it was open to southern linguistic influence. OHG, on the other hand, can clearly be distinguished from the North Sea Gmc group while the status of OLF appears to be intermediate between the two.

The area over which OHG was spoken can further be divided into two main dialectal groups, Upper German and Central German. Upper German comprises the Alemanic and Bavarian dialects, while Central German comprises the various Franconian dialects: Rhein Franconian, Middle Franconian and East Franconian¹⁷. A consequence of these dialectal divisions characterising OHG is the absence of any standardized form of the language, with the result that there is no common system of orthography or literary norm in OHG. These problems concerning standardization and orthography are addressed in 2.2.

The genetic relationships existing between the members of the Gmc language group and their corresponding subgroupings are illustrated below in Figure 1.

¹⁶ For a more detailed discussion concerning the alignment of the languages within WGmc, see Nielsen (1989).

¹⁷ Braune & Ebbinghaus (1989: 2-3), Krahe (I 1969: 31). These Franconian dialects should not be confused with Old Low Franconian (OLF) which, as shown above, is quite separate from OHG.

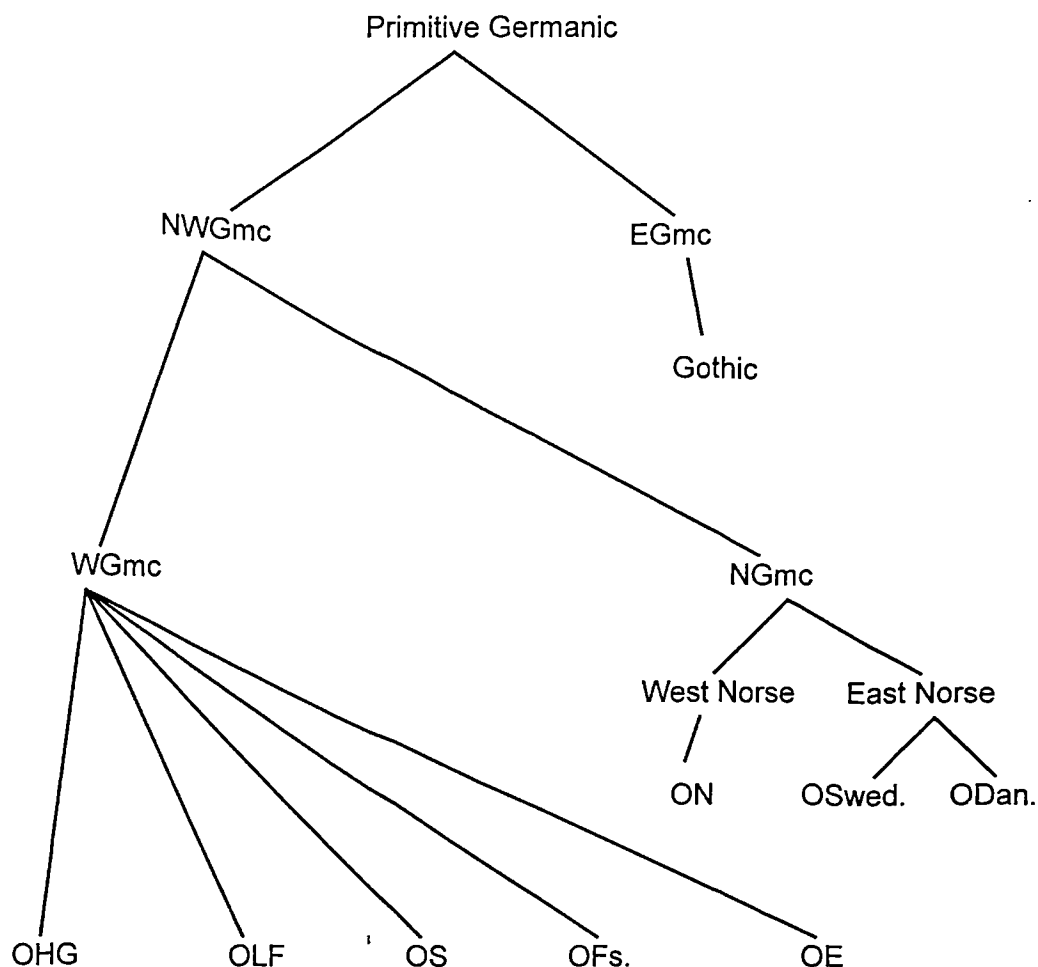


Figure 1. The Gmc Language Group

It should be noted that this family tree diagram is meant only as a convenient tool for visualization. The actual process whereby dialects split off from each other to eventually become distinct, separate languages is much more complex than the neat divisions seen in this diagram, differentiation resulting from the gradual spread of individual innovations, these innovations not usually coinciding in their spread¹⁸. It should also be noted that many of the relations presented in the above diagram are disputed¹⁹, particularly the division of Gmc into East Gmc and NWGmc. The older, more traditional view postulates an initial, tripartite division of primitive Gmc into separate West Gmc, North Gmc

¹⁸ Haugen (1976: 108). A detailed examination of the problems surrounding dialect geography and its relation to historical linguistics can be found in Bynon (1977: 173-197). This also includes a discussion of the 'wave theory', first proposed by Schmidt (1872), which postulates that linguistic innovations spread from a centre over the surrounding territory (Bynon 1977: 192).

¹⁹ See Nielsen (1989) and Kuhn (1955-56).

and East Gmc subgroups²⁰, the main strength of this theory resting on the fact that the Nordic dialects exhibited isoglosses in common with both Gothic and the West Gmc dialects. A further theory has been advanced positing an initial split of primitive Gmc into separate WGmc and Northeast Gmc subgroups, the latter subgroup comprising both Gothic and the Nordic languages. An initial division resulting in separate WGmc and Northeast Gmc subgroups is based on the evidence of the following isoglosses: Holtzmann's Law which states that the geminate glides *-ww-* underwent a 'sharpening' which is common to both ON and Gothic resulting in *-ggw-*, *-jj-* (ON *-ggj-*, Gothic *-ddj-*); the 2nd person singular preterite of strong verbs which is *-t* in both Gothic and ON but *-i* (*e*) in WGmc; the 1st person singular present subjunctive which is *-ō* in Runic (= Gothic *-au*) but *-e* in WGmc²¹. However, the evidence supporting these latter two divisions of Gmc is less than that for a NWGmc and East Gmc split²².

In support of a division between NWGmc and East Gmc is the fact that a large number of common innovations exist in the West Gmc and North Gmc languages which are not shared by East Gmc²³. The most important of these were made in the area of phonology, the languages comprising the NWGmc group having merged unstressed vowels in almost identical ways and developed in common a five-vowel system²⁴. The languages comprising the NWGmc group also share a number of common features in regard to their grammatical suffixes which differentiate them from East Gmc. These grammatical differences include the following: NWGmc genitive singular of masculine a-stem nouns in *-as* opposite Gothic *-is* (OS *dagas*, Gothic *dagis* "day"); NWGmc genitive plural in *-a* opposite Gothic *-e* (ON *daga*, Gothic *dage* "day"); NWGmc oblique cases of N-stem nouns formed with *-an* opposite Gothic *-an*, *-ins*, *-in* (OE *honan*, Gothic *hanan*, *hanins*, *hanin* "cock"); NWGmc dative singular masculine of adjectives in *-um* opposite Gothic *-amma* (ON *góðum*, Gothic *godamma* "good"); NWGmc dative singular feminine of adjectives in *-r* opposite Gothic *-ai* (ON *góðri*, Gothic *godai* "good"); the NWGmc use of a demonstrative pronoun **hesi*, *hasi* "this" (ON *hessi*, OHG *dese*) which is not attested in Gothic, this latter using *sa* in its place; the widespread loss of reduplication in NWGmc, corresponding instances of which survive in Gothic.

²⁰ This theory was first put forward by Schleicher (1860: 94). Its adherents include Streitberg (1896: 13) and more recently Krahe (1969: 26).

²¹ Haugen (1976: 108-109). See also Scherer (1868).

²² The problems associated with grouping the Gmc languages receive full attention in the literature given in note 1.

²³ Haugen (1976: 110). See also Kuhn (1955-56), Adamus (1962) and Antonsen (1965) for a full treatment of the arguments in favour of a NWGmc subgrouping.

²⁴ Haugen (1976: 110). These phonological features distinguishing NWGmc from East Gmc are listed in Voyles (1968: 744).

Yet more evidence for an initial division between NWGmc and East Gmc can be seen in the vocabulary of the two subgroups, a marked difference existing between the lexicon of Gothic and that of the other Gmc languages²⁵.

It can consequently be seen from the above schemata of subgroupings that four distinct stages of development or strata may be distinguished which characterize the diachronic development of the Gmc language group from primitive Gmc to OHG: (1) a Gmc stratum; (2) a NWGmc stratum; (3) a WGmc stratum; (4) an OHG stratum. The approximate time-scales involved in these four strata are outlined below in Figure 2.

Gmc stratum	Approximately 1000-200BC
NWGmc stratum	Approximately 200BC-100AD
WGmc stratum	Approximately 100-500AD
OHG stratum	Approximately 500-1100AD

Figure 2. The Gmc strata

As stated above, the stratum in which a given OHG weak verb originates can be ascertained from the presence or absence of cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages. Cognates are given in the oldest form possible (e.g. OE forms are cited in preference to Middle English forms and these in preference to Modern English, the later strata being referred to only where a lexeme is unattested in OE). For a verb to be considered as cognate with a particular OHG verb it must satisfy the following criteria:

1. It must be shown to be related phonologically (i.e. by systematic sound laws).
2. It must offer a credible semantic relationship (a difference in meaning is permitted only if it can be shown to be a digression which has occurred along semantically plausible lines).
3. It must belong to the same inflectional class, i.e. it must be related in terms of an equation rather than a root etymology.

Thus, as a general rule, the absence of any attested cognates in the other Gmc languages leads us to assume that the verb does not antedate the OHG period and is therefore an OHG formation²⁶. If, however, one or more cognates are attested, but in the WGmc group only (i.e. OS, OFs. or OE), we can posit an origin in the WGmc stratum but no earlier for the OHG weak verb in question. If a cognate or cognates are attested in the NGmc group, or if cognates are

²⁵ See Arndt (1959).

²⁶ This impression could be confirmed by a close parallel with Latin, i.e. the OHG verb in question may represent a loan formation from a Latin verb.

attested from both the NGmc and WGmc groups, but in both cases a cognate is lacking in Gothic, we can conclude that the verb was formed in the NWGmc stratum but no earlier. Finally, if a cognate verb is attested in Gothic, or if cognates are attested from both Gothic and one or more of the languages belonging to the NWGmc group, we can assume that the verb was formed in the Gmc stratum. To take an example, the OHG class I weak verb *heilen* “to heal, cure” has the following cognates: OS *hēlian* class I “to heal”; OFs. *hēla* class I “heilen”; OE *hælan* class I “to heal, cure”; ON *heila* class I “to heal”; Gothic *hailjan* class I “to heal”. The existence of these cognates therefore allows us to trace the verb back to the Gmc stratum and accordingly reconstruct a Gmc class I weak verb **hailijanan* “to heal, make well” (for the system used in reconstructed non-attested proto-forms see 2.6.). Likewise, the OHG weak verb *wuosten* “to destroy, lay waste to” has the following cognates: OS *wāstian* class I “to lay waste to, plunder”; OE *wēstan* class I “to lay waste, ravage”. The existence of cognates in OE and OS shows that the verb was a formation which probably existed during the WGmc stratum. However, as cognate forms are lacking in both ON and Gothic, there is no evidence to show that the verb in question existed in the NWGmc or Gmc periods antedating WGmc. The verb must therefore be assigned to the WGmc stratum and no earlier, and we can accordingly reconstruct a WGmc class I weak verb **wāstijan* “to lay waste, make barren”.

There are, however, a number of instances in which these general rules have to be modified:

It is possible that an apparent cognate is not actually cognate but an independent formation. Furthermore, a seeming cognate may in fact represent a loan word made from one Gmc dialect to another or a loan translation based on an existing Latin verb (loan translations are discussed further in 2.4. and 4.7.5.). Gothic in particular presents us with a number of problems. It represents a language belonging to the East Gmc group, which diverged from Gmc at an early date and which is therefore historically remote from the WGmc group and OHG. It is quite likely, therefore, that Gothic may contain a large number of formations which, although seemingly cognate, were in fact formed independently, or which may have been loaned to OHG from Gothic - witness the well-attested Gothic loans in OHG, e.g. OHG *pfeit* from Gothic *paida* “undergarment”.

It is hence considered desirable that an OHG weak verb has cognates throughout a broad range of the Gmc languages (preferably from all the Gmc subgroups, i.e. Gothic, NGmc and WGmc) for it to be accepted as a Gmc

formation. Where only a single potential cognate is present, it must agree precisely in meaning and form with the OHG verb for it to be given cognate status. Any divergence in form or meaning which might in normal circumstances be explained by such processes as analogy, serves in such cases to confirm the suspicion that the potential cognate in question is in fact an independent formation.

For the criteria necessary for a verb to be assigned to the pre-Gmc or IE stratum see 2.4.

Once it has been established through the existence of cognates that a given weak verb antedates the OHG stratum, the ancestor or proto-form of this verb is then reconstructed for the relevant stratum, as has in fact been seen in the above examples. The system used in the data section in reconstructing non-attested proto-forms is outlined in 2.6.

The reader will recall from Chapter One the hypothesis that the weak inflection began among a relatively small, core group of verbs and then spread out from this group by analogy, becoming ever more productive during the course of the development of Gmc to OHG. Establishing a relative chronology for the OHG weak verbs should thus enable us to see clearly the pattern of growth of the weak verbs from Gmc through to OHG.

2.4. Derivational Profile

In order to begin to answer the question of why the weak verb formation spread, it will be necessary to examine the derivational profile of the weak verbs. It is hypothesized that an examination of the derivational profile will show which morpho-semantic types were productive at which period. By identifying these morpho-semantic groups, it may consequently be possible to show how they provided a pattern for the weak verb formation to be extended analogically. Analysing the role and significance of morphological and semantic factors such as ablaut or the role played by weak verbs in forming causative or intensive deverbatives will therefore constitute an important part of the present study (see 2.3.).

In order to establish a derivational profile for the OHG weak verbs a suitable derivational base must be found. This involves investigating the morphological relationships of the OHG weak verbs to other lexemes so that a distinct pair standing in a formal morpho-semantic opposition to each other can be revealed (in many cases more than one distinct morpho-semantic pair can be

ascertained between a given verb and other items of the lexicon, while in other cases it may not be possible to establish any suitable formal opposition. The first step in this process to establish a derivational profile is therefore to locate verbs, adjectives and substantives which are related in both form and meaning to a given weak verb. Having located a related lexeme and established a formal morpho-semantic pair, we must then decide whether the weak verb can convincingly be shown to derive from this lexeme or whether the lexeme in question is more plausibly a derivation from the weak verb. In order to determine whether a given weak verb represents a derivation from a related lexeme or vice versa, the related lexeme must first of all be traced back either to the same the stratum as that of the weak verb or to an earlier stratum. In establishing which stratum a related lexeme belongs to, the same principles are employed as those used to stratify the weak verbs. Thus, for example, the OHG weak verb *suozen* “to sweeten, make sweet”, which can be traced back to a WGmc proto-form **swōtjijan* “to sweeten, make sweet”, can be shown to be related to the OHG adjective *suozi* “sweet”. This OHG adjective *suozi* has the following cognates OS *swōti* “sweet”; OFs. *swēte* “sweet”; OE *swōt* “sweet”; ON *sætr* “sweet”. These cognates accordingly allow us to reconstruct a NWGmc proto-form **swōtjaz* “sweet”. The adjective clearly antedates the weak verb and cannot therefore be a derivation from this same verb. In view of this, it is therefore more likely that the verb represents a derivation from the adjective.

In instances where the weak verb and a related lexeme can be shown to date back to the same stratum, it is normally possible to assume that the weak verb represents the derivation rather than the related lexeme, on the principle that the weak verbs, as mentioned in Chapter One, largely represent secondary formations. However, cases where this assumption can be made with complete certainty are limited. Moreover, in instances where a multiplicity of formal oppositions present themselves, it may only become clear which the significant formal opposition is after a statistical analysis of the data at hand. The problems surrounding the derivational relationships of the OHG weak verbs are discussed further below.

In certain cases a related lexeme cannot be traced back to the same stratum as the weak verb. However, this does not automatically rule out the possibility that the weak verb in question derives from the related lexeme (in other words, that the verb in question is a back-formation). It is perfectly possible that the related lexeme became extinct in one or more languages with the result that an attested cognate form is no longer extant. This is especially the case in regard to the strong verbs as these are, as mentioned in Chapter One, in

the main primary and, consequently, as a group older than the weak verbs. Indeed, there are numerous instances whereby a strong verb has died out in a particular language, having been replaced by a weak verb derived from it, e.g. the OHG class I weak verb *wecken* can, on the basis of cognates, be traced back to the Gmc stratum and a corresponding Gmc proto-form **wakejanan* “to wake up” reconstructed. Related to this Gmc weak verb there exists a strong verb attested in OE *wæcnan* “to awake” and a fossilized ON preterite participle *vakinn* “awake”, and which, on the basis of these cognates, can only be traced back to the NWGmc stratum. However, an examination of the semantic relation between the two verbs shows that the weak verb exists in a causative relation²⁷ to the strong verb. The weak verb can therefore quite easily represent a causative deverbative from the strong verb. Furthermore, it is perfectly plausible to assume that the strong verb died out in Gothic, OHG, OS and OFs., having been replaced by a class III weak counterpart identical with it in meaning (OHG *wahhen*, Gothic *wahhan* etc. “to awake”). However, such cases where a related lexeme cannot be shown to date back to the same or an earlier stratum than the weak verb in question must be treated with considerable caution, and an alternative etymology found if this is possible.

Having found a lexeme which can be shown to represent a suitable derivational base, the verb can now be classified according to the pattern of its derivation. In respect to this, the following derivational categories are recognized:

Verbs derived from another verb. The derivational base may be either a strong or a weak verb. For example, the Gmc weak verb **atejanan* (OHG *ezzen*) “to feed” has a formal semantic relation with the Gmc strong verb **etanan* (OHG *ezzan*) “to eat”. These are classified under the heading **Deverbatives**.

Verbs derived from an adjective. For example, the WGmc weak verb **fūhtōjan* (OHG *fūhtōn*) “to be damp” has a formal semantic relation with the WGmc adjective **fūhtiz* (OHG *fūht(i)*) “damp”. These are classified under the heading **Deadjectives**.

Verbs derived from a substantive. For example, the OHG weak verb *ābandmuosen* “to eat one’s evening meal” has a formal semantic relation with the OHG adjective *ābandmuos* “evening meal”. These are classified under the heading **Denominatives**.

Derivations formed from a simplex verb by the addition of a prefix. For example, OHG *ana-rennen* “to run at, attack” exists in a formal semantic relation to the OHG simplex verb *rennen* “to run”. These are classified under the

²⁷ See 2.5. for a definition of what is meant by ‘causative relation’.

heading **Prefix Formations**. Although prefix formations can further be divided according to whether the prefixed element is an adjective, a substantive or a locative particle (i.e. an adverb, preposition or a bound morpheme which probably had an independent adverbial or prepositional existence at an earlier period), this distinction has little to offer an investigation aiming to trace the origin and development of the weak verbs themselves, and will consequently be ignored. Furthermore, as the prefix formations derived during the WGmc and OHG periods are too numerous to be categorized and examined individually, the present work will restrict itself in the analysis section (see 2.5. below) to listing the main verbal prefixes in use during each stratum and summarising the semantic function or functions ascribed to these prefixes over the course of the development of the weak verbs from Gmc to OHG.

A further derivational category has also been observed: verbs derived from an adverb. For example, the NWGmc weak verb **ūtijanān* (OHG *ūzen*) “to drive out, banish” has a formal semantic relation with the Gmc adverb **ūt* (OHG *ūz*) “out, outwards”. These are classified under the heading **Deadverbials**. However, deadverbial formations are rare in all periods in the development of the weak verb from Gmc to OHG, and thus constitute an insignificant method of weak verb derivation. As a result, deadverbial formations will be noted as they occur in the data section (Chapter Three), but will not be subject to further examination in the analysis section (Chapter Four).

In addition to the above categories there are also a number of verbs for which no satisfactory derivational base can be found. These fall into three groups, as will now be outlined below:

The first group contains verbs for which no morphologically related forms are attested either in OHG, the related Gmc languages or in the IE language group as a whole. This, in effect, means that it is impossible to trace an etymology for such verbs - or at least to propose a convincing etymology. Verbs falling into this category are classed as “**Etymology-Unclear**” verbs.

The second group contains verbs for which no derivational profile can be ascertained. They differ from verbs that have an unclear etymology in that in many cases there can be a large number of related lexemes extant, and as such many of the verbs belonging here probably represent derivations of one sort or another. However, a convincing or precise derivational process cannot be formulated. This may be the result of insufficient data concerning the etymology of the verb in question, or it may result from the fact that the verb is an expressive, sound symbolic or onomatopoeic creation, often formed by changing the root vowel while usually keeping the initial consonant cluster,

which often takes on a semantic function (for a typical example of this, see the weak verbs *fnastōn*, *fnattōn* and *fneskezzēn* in the data section, Chapter Four). Furthermore, verbs belonging to this group are distinguished from those of the third group (see below) in that they do not have parallels in the IE languages outside Gmc, or differ too radically in form or meaning from any such parallels, and cannot therefore be considered primary. Verbs falling into this category are therefore classified as “**Derivational-Pattern-Unclear**” verbs.

The third group also contains verbs which, like the preceding two groups, cannot be shown to derive from any related lexemes extant in the Gmc languages. However, in contrast to the preceding categories, the verbs belonging here can be shown to be cognate with related verbs extant in the IE languages outside Gmc. The verbs falling into this category have therefore been referred to as **Primary** verbs, as they represent lexemes which appear to be inherited from IE and not secondary forms, derived at some point during the development of Gmc to OHG. At this point it should be stressed that such verbs have only been given a primary status in relation to the Gmc language group. These same verbs, although inherited from IE, may well represent derivations formed at some period in the history of IE prior to the separation of the Gmc group. However, the ultimate IE etymology of such primary verbs is no longer transparent, as the IE era represents an extremely remote period historically, and as a result etymological data and morphological relationships are much less certain at this level of reconstruction. In view of the immense chronological distance separating OHG and primitive IE, caution must therefore be exercised when determining whether a verb attested in OHG may be classified as primary or not. It has consequently been considered essential that the verb in question exists alongside a broad range of cognate IE verbs corresponding in phonology to the Gmc verb, exhibiting a plausible semantic relationship (exact semantic correspondences are rare for this period given the time span involved) and, if possible, covering a wide geographical area. Only then can we assume that the verb represents a primary originating in the IE forbear of Gmc.

Having established which verbs merit a primary status, these primary verbs can then be grouped together and separated from the remaining derivational formations. Following on from this, the primary verbs can then be analysed in respect to their morpho-semantic properties and compared with their IE counterparts. As discussed in the Introduction, it is hoped that such an analysis might throw light on which verbs first adopted the weak inflection and which factors were responsible for the origin of the dental suffix and the weak inflection as a whole.

Finally, a further etymological category has also been observed, **Loan Verbs**. These, strictly speaking, have not been derived by a morphological process from another lexical base, but represent borrowed verbs imported from another language. Loan verbs are given in the data and analysis sections together with the source or donor verb in the relevant language from which they have been borrowed, which in the case of OHG is usually Latin²⁸.

However, there are a number of problems which arise when faced with the task of assigning a weak verb to one of the above derivational categories. Determining which of several lexemes standing in a formal morpho-semantic relation to each other represents the derivational base of a given weak verb is perhaps the biggest problem which confronts any etymological study of the OHG and Gmc weak verbs. This can often be resolved by stratifying chronologically each lexeme within the morpho-semantically related group, on the basis of the number of cognates which it possesses. Thus, we can rule out the possibility that a given weak verb belonging to one of the older strata such as Gmc or NWGmc derives from a related lexeme belonging to one of the younger strata such as WGmc or OHG. However, this method of reasoning is also subject to potential errors, as cognate forms for a given lexeme may have died out in one or more of the Gmc languages thus concealing the fact that the lexeme in question actually dates back to a period earlier than the one reconstructed for it on the basis of attested cognates (this is discussed further below). As well as the evidence resulting from the presence or absence of cognates, semantic or morphological features which a related lexeme exhibits and which may suggest that it is a later formation, can also be important in such cases.

Where this approach still leaves uncertainty, I have classified the verb within an either/or category. Thus, for example, the OHG verb *āwiggōn* “to wander from the track, go wrong, err”, which may derive equally convincingly from either the adjective *āwiggī* “rough, erroneous, mislead” or the substantive *āwiggī* “rough area, cross-roads, mistake, error”, has accordingly been classified as a denominative/deadjectival verb. However, I have restricted the size and extent of either/or categories by only classifying a verb as such in cases of extreme ambiguity. On account of the limited number of verbs thus classified as well as their ambiguous nature, formations assigned to an either/or category are noted as they occur in the data section (Chapter Three), but do not receive further examination in the analysis section (Chapter Four).

²⁸ For a discussion concerning the influence of Latin on OHG and the importance of Latin loan words, see Eggers (1986).

It is nevertheless important to note that the reasoning outlined in the above paragraph is frequently not conclusive, and it must therefore be stressed that a certain number of decisions taken when ascertaining the derivational profile of a given verb are somewhat arbitrary. However, the sheer size of the data being examined, 4685 OHG weak verbs in total, offers sufficient compensation for inevitable inaccuracies which may arise in respect to the etymology of some verbs.

A number of problems are presented by what we may call “class pairs”. These represent weak verbs which have double forms, i.e. they appear in more than one inflectional class. For example, the OHG class I weak verb *abanstigen* “to be envious” exists beside a class II counterpart, *abanstigōn* “to be envious”, this class II verb being identical in meaning with the class I verb. However, it is extremely difficult or even impossible to determine whether each verb in a class pair was derived independently of the other, or whether a verb belonging to one class is derived from its counterpart belonging to a different inflectional class, or vice versa. Furthermore, the existence of class pairs may reflect the dialectal differences existing within OHG, a given weak verb appearing as class I in one particular dialect, but as class II or class III in another dialect or dialects of OHG.

Given the extent of these uncertainties, the approach taken in this thesis will therefore be to make no attempt at determining whether one member of a class pair may be derived from the other in cases where both verbs were formed during the same chronological stratum. However, where double forms exist in which one verb can be shown to have been formed in a stratum antedating the other verb, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that the chronologically younger of the two verbs represents a deverbative derivation from its older counterpart.

The problem of loan translations or creations also merits discussion at this stage. As has previously been mentioned in our discussion of source texts, the advent of Christianity led to the creation of a large number of new lexemes in each of the Gmc languages, based for the most part on ecclesiastical Latin and New Testament Greek (this latter having been a major influence on ecclesiastical Latin itself). These were, of course, the languages of the Christian Church which shared the heritage of the late Roman (in the east, Byzantine) Empire, a civilization generally more advanced in learning, culture and material standards than the pagan Gmc tribes. As a result, many of the material and conceptual imports into the pagan Gmc world would have been accompanied by corresponding loan words or loan translations.

Many weak verbs may therefore represent loan creations based on an existing Latin verb and made independently in OHG or the other Gmc languages, rather than inherited verbs derived at an earlier stage in the development of the Gmc group. However, it is often extremely difficult or even impossible to determine whether such verbs represent later, independent loan translations or whether they are actual inherited forms. In such cases close attention must be paid to the meaning exhibited by each related verb. If a seemingly cognate verb shows a divergent meaning related to the cultural fields of scholarly learning or Christian thought, then the verb in question is generally regarded as a later loan creation. However, the situation is complicated further by the fact that ecclesiastical Latin and Christianity in general also appear to have affected existing meanings possessed by Gmc verbs. Thus, for example, the OHG verb *armēn* “to become poor, suffer” exists beside the related verbs: OS *armōn* “to be in need”, OE *earmian* “to pity, commiserate”, and Gothic *arman* “to take pity on”. The Gothic and OE verbs clearly exhibit divergent meanings which suggest that they might represent later verbs, formed as ecclesiastical loan translations for the Latin and Greek verbs ἐλεέω “I have pity on, show mercy upon” and *miserēre* “to feel pity, have compassion for, commiserate” respectively. However, the fact that the above related verbs are present in each of the Gmc languages is a strong indication that they are in fact inherited, cognate forms deriving from a Gmc deadjectival verb **armējanan* “to be poor or in need” from **armaz* “poor, in need”. The OHG and OS verbs can therefore be seen to preserve the original meaning of the Gmc verb, while the OE and Gothic verbs have replaced this older meaning with the later, ecclesiastically motivated meaning of “to take pity on”.

Finally, the reader may consider that many of the etymologies given in the data section are not sufficiently exhaustive. However, it is important to note that I have pursued the etymology of each verb only so far as to allow me to establish the stratum to which the verb belongs.

2.5. Further Analysis

Having presented in Chapter Three the OHG weak verbs, assigned them to a particular chronological stratum (i.e. Pre-Gmc, Gmc, NWGmc, WGmc and OHG), and established their method of derivation (if this is possible and a particular verb is not primary or unclear in its derivational profile), the resulting

data are then extracted and analysed for more general conclusions in Chapter Four.

The verbs are firstly grouped according to the stratum in which they were formed. The chronological order in which the strata are presented begins with the oldest stratum, Pre-Gmc, and works forwards chronologically through Gmc, NWGmc and WGmc to the youngest stratum, OHG. Presenting and analysing the data in this chronological order will thus allow us to trace more clearly the origin and development of important trends within the weak verb system. However, this is something of a blunt instrument, as it gives no clue either as to how a given word formation pattern fits into the lexicon as a whole or as to the motivation behind the word formation patterns involved.

In order to try to tackle this problem, the verbs are further analyzed according to their derivational profile. As will be recalled from 2.4., a formal opposition (or in many cases set of formal oppositions) was established between a given verb and related lexemes. Furthermore, within the frequent multiplicity of formal oppositions which presented themselves, it soon became clear statistically which the significant formal opposition was, and a putative derivational base was, in most cases, established. In this way a derivational profile for the OHG weak verbs was built up incorporating deverbative, deadjectival and denominative verbs as well as prefix formations according to the nature of the most significant formal pair (see 2.4. for examples).

However, simply stating that a verb is probably derived from another verb, an adjective or a noun, does not begin to describe the derivational process adequately, for it is clear that various relationships are possible between word formation patterns and their bases. In essence, the scheme used here is that of West (1977, 1981, 1982), which extended Fillmore's case grammar approach from syntactic structure to word formation by assigning a case relationship between a word formation pattern and formal semantic pairs on the basis of the relationship revealed by equivalent sentences. This model has been chosen, rather than one of its derivatives (e.g. Dik's functional grammar (1978, 1983); or the localist hypothesis, see Jackendoff (1987)) because it sees every verb as selecting a given number and type of deep case complements which then form its case frame (Fillmore 1977, 1981). The similarities with the valency model which currently forms the basis of most descriptions of modern German (see, for example, Engel (1988)) are obvious and will therefore allow direct comparison between OHG and the later language. This approach allows us to

reconstruct formal oppositions within the vocabulary, which may help us to explain later analogical processes²⁹.

The semantic relationships between denominative verbs and their nominal pair is described below. We begin with the three most important case-relationships in Fillmore's model evidenced in the OHG data.

1. **Agentive** - The substantive denotes the agent of the action identified by the verb, and is therefore usually equated with the subject complement of an equivalent sentence. Examples are:

deganōn "to serve as a soldier", paired with *degan* "soldier, liegeman".

diuben "to be a thief, steal", paired with *diob* "thief, robber".

wēzagōn "to prophesy, be a prophet", paired with *wēzago* "prophet, wise man, soothsayer".

2. **Objective** (also called patient) - The substantive denotes the object of the action identified by the verb, and is therefore to be equated with the accusative complement of an equivalent sentence. Examples:

arbeiten "to work, do work", paired with *arbeits* "work".

eihihlōn "to collect acorns", paired with *eihihila* "acorn".

fiscōn "to catch fish, fish", paired with *fisc* "fish".

3. **Instrumental** - The substantive denotes the object with the help of which an action is carried out. Fillmore equates this with an instrument ("He broke the window with a hammer") and also the non-agentive originator of an action ("He broke the window"). Examples are:

nagalen "to nail", paired with *nagal* "nail".

salbōn "to salve, anoint", paired with *salbo* "salve, ointment".

zimbaren "to build", paired with *zimbar* "timber, wood".

The dative and locative appear to have a much less significant role in the word formation process in OHG, an observation which confirms West's observations for Gothic³⁰. However, the three categories mentioned above are supplemented by statives, factitives and inchoatives.

4. **Stative** - The verb denotes that the subject is in the state or condition described by the (usually abstract) substantive. Examples are:

angustēn "to be in fear, fear", paired *angust* with "fear".

hungaren "to be hungry", paired with *hungar* "hunger".

²⁹ The above system of semantic classification has also been chosen in preference to those of Schaefer (1984, 1985) and Kaluščenko (1988) as these involve a larger and more intricate number of categories and/or distinctions, and would accordingly make an analysis of the data unduly complex given the scope and objectives of the present thesis. Furthermore, such systems might even serve to obscure certain, more general trends revealed by the data.

³⁰ West (1977: 66-72).

rāwēn “to be at rest, rest”, paired with *rāwa* “rest, repose”.

5. **Factitive** - The activity denoted by the verb causes or creates the state, condition or entity designated by the substantive, which is therefore revealed as the result of the activity identified by the verb. Examples are:

fackalen “to make a torch”, paired with *fackala* “torch”.

scalken “to make into a servant, enslave”, paired with *scalc* “servant, slave”.

teilen “to divide”, paired with *teil* “portion, share, division”.

Because they indicate the result of the verbal process, factitives may be linked to the category of aspect as it is realized in telic situations, or those which have a built-in terminal point. The act of dividing is a good example of this, as the necessary terminal point is part of the whole.

This type is well attested in Gothic, for example in *dailjan* “to divide” vs. *dails* “part”, *hunsljan* “to sacrifice” vs. *hunsl* “sacrifice”³¹ and may therefore be relatively old. The presence of a large set of factitives paired with adjectives, however, suggests that this type may be modelled on them. The same suspicion exists for the inchoatives.

6. **Inchoative** - The verb denotes that the subject enters or becomes characterized by the state or condition denoted by the substantive. Examples are: *abandēn* “to become evening”, paired with *aband* “evening”.

kraftēn “to become strong, gain strength”, paired with *kraft* “strength, might”.

tagēn “to become day, dawn”, paired with *tac* “day”.

Like the factitives, the inchoatives concentrate on one aspect of the verbal action, but on the beginning rather than the end. Linkage with the category of aspect is again possible, as verbs marked for perfective aspect often indicate the beginning or inception of the action identified by the verb, a phenomenon noted for Gothic³².

Both these types appear to be based on the verb-adjective pairs and have been extended to verb-substantive pairs by analogical extension. This is one way in which formal oppositions within the vocabulary might shed light on analogical processes.

We now turn to those formations paired with adjectives, of which three types appear to be the most significant in the OHG data: factitives, inchoatives and statives.

1. **Factitive** - The activity denoted by the verb causes or creates the state or condition described by the adjective. Examples are:

lōsen “to loosen, make loose”, paired with *lōs* “loose, free”.

³¹ West (1977: 67f.).

³² West (1981).

sūbaren “to make clean”, paired with *sūbar* “clean”.

tōden “to kill, render dead”, paired with *tōt* “dead”.

2. **Inchoative** - The verb denotes that the subject enters or becomes characterized by the state or condition described by the adjective. Examples are: *dickēn* “to become thick, thicken”, paired with *dicki* “thick”.

muodēn “to become tired, tire”, paired with *muodi* “tired”.

rōtēn “to become red, redden”, paired with *rōt* “red”.

3. **Stative** - The verb denotes that the subject is in the state or condition described by the adjective. Examples are:

frōēn “to be happy, rejoice”, paired with *frō* “happy, glad”.

gisuntēn “to be healthy”, paired with *gisunti* “healthy”.

swārēn “to be heavy”, paired with *swār* “heavy”.

Just as there are conceptual links between verb-substantive and verb-adjective pairs and their semantic categories, so the verb-verb pairs show similar links, especially with the verb-adjective pairs. The following types are the most significant in the OHG data: causatives, inceptives, duratives, intensives and frequentatives.

1. **Causative** - Causatives are clearly essentially identical to factitives³³, but I have followed practice in German linguistics³⁴ in keeping them terminologically distinct so as to avoid confusion. The activity denoted by the derived verb causes or creates the action signified by the source verb. Examples are:

fellen “to fell, cause to fall”, paired with *fallan* “to fall”.

leggen “to lay, lie down”, paired with *liggan* “to lie, be prostrate”.

senken “to sink, cause to sink”, paired with *sincan* “to sink”.

Intensive - The activity signified by the source verb is intensified, heightened or emphasized in the derived verb. Examples are:

dahhezzen “to flare up, blaze”, paired with **pahjan* (attested in OE *þeccan*) “to burn”.

slagezzen “to hit badly, beat”, paired with *slagan* “to hit, strike”.

tretten “to trample down, stamp on”, paired with *tretan* “to tread”.

Durative - Duratives are clearly related to statives. The action signified by the source verb is expressed in the derived verb as continuous, uninterrupted or progressive. Examples are:

hangēn “to be hanging”, paired with *hangan* “to hang”.

(h)negēn “to be leaning, lean (on)”, paired with *(h)nīgan* “to lean (down), bend”.

³³ See Kastovsky (1973).

³⁴ For example Krahe & Meid (III 1969: 246-247).

wahhēn “to be awake”, paired with **waknanan* (attested in OE *wæcnan*) “to wake up, awake”.

Frequentative (also called continuative or iterative) - The action signified by the source verb is expressed in the derived verb as frequent, repeated or habitual. Examples are:

gangarōn “to wander (around)”, paired with *gangan* “to go”.

sprangōn “to jump up and down”, paired with *sprengan* “to jump, leap”.

wantalōn “to wander (around)”, paired with *wantōn* “to turn, wind, change”.

Inceptive (also called ingressive) - Inceptives are clearly related to inchoatives. The derived verb expresses the beginning or commencing of the action signified by the source verb. Examples are:

dorrēn “to dry up, become dry”, paired with **persanan* (attested in Gothic *ga-þaursans* pret. part.) “to dry, be dry”.

zundēn “to start burning, catch on fire”, paired with **tenþanan* (attested in OE *tinneð* 3rd sg. pres. indic.) “to burn”.

All the above categories can be related to “Aktionsart”, or the type of action implied by the inherent meaning of the verb. Aktionsart is therefore distinct from aspect, which I follow Comrie in defining as “the internal temporal constituency of the action implied by the verb”³⁵, as verbs can be marked for perfective or imperfective aspect largely independently of their Aktionsart, but one category may impinge on the other.

It should be noted that the categories essentially emerge from the data. They tend to fall into a small, finite set and this is one indication of their general validity. However, languages are untidy and there are always verbal pairs which do not fit into the general scheme. In cases where a verb cannot adequately be assigned to any of these categories, the semantic relation is marked “unclear”.

Verbs which have classified as denominatives, deadjectives and deverbatives are presented in chapter four within tables³⁶. The verbs listed in each table are then followed by further columns listing the appropriate reconstructed form (in the case of formations belonging to the strata antedating OHG), together with the posited derivational base of the verb (this is also given in reconstructed form where a weak verb formation antedates the OHG stratum), the semantic relation between the verb and its derivational base, and relevant morphological features present in the derived verb such as ablaut grade and verbal extensions. In the case of primary verbs each verb is presented within a table together with a Gmc reconstruction. However, no attempt has been made

³⁵ Comrie (1977: 3)

³⁶ A general discussion of derivation by means of verbal prefixes is also given for each of the strata. However, as they are too numerous, individual prefix formations are not listed.

to reconstruct the IE form of the verb or classify it according to IE present types, as IE present stem markers are often generalized in the daughter languages, rendering any attempt to derive firm conclusions about a given reconstructed verb's conjugational class extremely difficult. Consequently, traditional root etymologies have been used as a convenient means of relating the verb to its IE counterparts, rather than reconstructing the verb's IE conjugational type based on equations with cognate verb forms attested in the other IE languages.

In addition to the aforementioned derivational categories, the reader will recall from 4.4. that the data also yields a number of verbs which have clearly been borrowed from a small number of source languages, most importantly Latin. These loan verbs are also presented in tabular form. Verbs for which no clear etymology or derivational profile could be established in the data section are not, however, subjected to further analysis in chapter four. For reference purposes they are listed in appendices One and Two.

Following every table a detailed discussion is given of the main features which characterize each derivational type. Thus the productivity and significance of the semantic relations involved in the derivational process, as well as that of key morphological factors, such as ablaut changes, the occurrence of intensive gemination or the use of verbal extensions, receive analysis and comment.

Finally, at the end of the section assigned to each chronological stratum a summary is given of the main features characterising the verbs belonging to the respective stratum. This includes an overview of any significant trends occurring within the stratum. Thus, an indication is given as to which derivational type was most productive during a particular stratum and which was least productive. The main morpho-semantic factors involved in the various derivation processes are also summarized, with an indication as to which of these morpho-semantic features was in the ascendancy during a particular stratum and which in decline.

2.6. Reconstructed Forms

Having shown how an etymological profile can be established for the OHG weak verbs and how the resulting data can be categorized and analysed according to stratum, derivational type and inflectional class, we can now discuss the conventions used in the present work when reconstructing non-attested proto-forms.

The reconstruction of Gmc, NWGmc and WGmc lexemes is based primarily on the system used by Seebold in his etymological reconstructions³⁷. There are, however, a number of phonological differences between the system used in this thesis and that used by Seebold: the velar and labial fricatives [ɣ] and [β] occurring in Gmc³⁸ are represented by <g> and respectively; the dental fricative [ð] occurring in Gmc³⁹ is marked as <ð>, except in the following circumstances where it is written as <d>: initially, and in the combinations <ld> and <nd>. This may be justified on the grounds that the change of <ð> to <d> in the positions noted above is reflected in all the Gmc languages and is therefore to be considered a Gmc development. The following points relating to the form of reconstructed lexemes should also be noted.

Although the phonetic change in which the diphthong /ei/ became /i/ occurred in all the Gmc languages and is thus to be seen as a common Gmc development, <ei> has been retained, in accordance with Seebold's practice, in order to indicate more clearly the derivational morphology of certain lexemes. For example, the reconstructed Gmc class I weak verb **baitejanan* (OHG *beizen*) "to bridle, cause to bite" can be shown to derive from a Gmc class I strong verb which may be reconstructed as **beitanan* (OHG *bēzan*) "to bite". Showing the reconstructed strong verb with the diphthong <ei> consequently enables us to see the ablaut relation between it and its weak verb derivative, i.e. the weak verb has the (IE) 'o'-grade of ablaut while the strong verb has the (IE) e-grade of ablaut. **baitejanan* can therefore be seen to conform to the morphological process whereby causative deverbatives were derived with the o-grade of ablaut, this derivational pattern being a typical characteristic of causatives during the Gmc period and later. Similarly, and also following Seebold's practice, <*-anh-> is preferred to the later form <*-āh-> as the older form with <n> shows more clearly the derivational morphology of certain lexemes. For example, the operation of Verner's Law or grammatical change can clearly be seen in morphological relationship between the class I NWGmc weak verb **prangejanan* (OHG *drengen*) "to cause to press, force, oppress" and its derivational base, the class III strong verb **prenhanan* (OHG *dringen*) "to press, squeeze".

Reconstructed forms for Gmc, NWGmc and WGmc are given in their usual citation form. Thus, verbs appear in their infinitive form, substantives in their nominative singular form, and adjectives in their nominative singular masculine form. The infinitive ending of Gmc verbs is reconstructed as **-anan*,

³⁷ Seebold (1970) and Kluge (22nd edition, ed. Seebold 1989).

³⁸ Szemerényi (1990: 57).

³⁹ Szemerényi (1990: 57).

this ending representing the fossilized accusative singular of a neuter IE action noun which was derived from verbs with the suffix *-no-* preceded by the thematic vowel *-o-*⁴⁰, e.g. IE **bheronom* (seen most clearly in Sanskrit *bharanam* “(act of) bearing”) from which the Gmc verbal infinitive **beranan* “to carry” is derived. However, a typical feature characterising the development of Gmc is the loss of final unaccented syllables resulting from the shift in accent in Gmc to the initial syllable of a word stem⁴¹. Consequently, the final *-an* of this infinitive ending *-anan* became lost at some period during the course of the development of Gmc to OHG. It is unclear when this ending became lost, but it certainly antedates the earliest written records of Gmc, i.e. Runic Norse and Gothic. I have accordingly reconstructed the infinitive of verbs dating back to the Gmc and NWGmc strata with the ending **-anan* but have reconstructed the infinitive of verbs dating back to the WGmc stratum with the ending **-an*, as this period is sufficiently late to allow us to assume that the ending had become lost by this time.

As outlined in the Introduction, the weak verbs can be divided into two groups, according to whether they represent primary verbs or secondary, derivative verbs. Primary verbs added a *-j-* suffix to the verb root in IE, while secondary verbs inserted a thematic vowel between the verb root and this *-j-* suffix, these thematic vowels generally being reconstructed as **-e-*, **-i-*, **-ō-* and **-ē-*. Furthermore, the thematic vowel **-e-*, which originally bore the accent in IE (and in the early stages of Gmc as can be seen from the operation of Verner’s Law in verbs with this suffix), was normally used in causative deverbative formations in Gmc which also regularly took the zero grade of ablaut in the vowel of their root syllable, while the vowel **-i-*, which was unstressed, occurred in denominative or deadjectival formations. Finally, those verbs formed with the thematic vowels **-ō-* and **-ē-* became the second and third class of weak verb respectively, while those formed with no thematic vowel fell together with verbs formed with the vowels **-e-* and **-i-* to become the first weak verb class.

In view of the above observations, infinitives are reconstructed with class endings according to the following system, which is the system used by Seebold⁴². The infinitive of class I verbs is reconstructed with an ending **-ejanan* for causative deverbatives, an ending **-ijanan* for denominative and deadjectival formations, and an ending **-janan* for primary verbs, and verbs

⁴⁰ Krahe (II 1969: 116).

⁴¹ See d’Alquen (1988) for more details concerning Gmc accent and the laws of unaccented syllables.

⁴² Seebold (1970) and Kluge (22nd edition, ed. Seebold 1989).

with an unclear etymology or derivational profile. The infinitive of class II weak verbs is reconstructed with an ending **-ōjanan*, while the infinitive of class III weak verbs is reconstructed with an ending **-ējanan*.

The reconstruction of IE lexemes and roots follows the system used by Pokorny⁴³. It should further be noted that laryngeal consonants have not been reconstructed in the IE roots where they may have occurred, as they represent an archaic stage in the development of IE and do not therefore directly affect the reconstruction of Gmc and later forms made in this thesis⁴⁴.

2.7. Summary

To summarize what has been discussed so far, it will be remembered that in the introductory section, Chapter One, the nature and problem of the weak verb in Gmc and OHG was set out, and a solution proposed which, it is hoped, will provide important and more detailed information concerning the origin and development of the Gmc weak verb, from its genesis in the early stages of Gmc through to its appearance in the written monuments of OHG. In the present chapter, the practices and procedures were examined which must be followed in order to produce such insights or results - in other words, the methods were set out which will be used to collect, stratify and analyse the OHG weak verbs. Finally, the main problems surrounding such a system of data collection and analysis have also constituted an important part of the subject matter of the methodology section.

As a result of what has been discussed so far, the reader should now be aware of the main issues whose exploration and analysis will form the rest of this thesis. We are therefore ready to present the data. This constitutes the next chapter, Chapter Three.

⁴³ Pokorny (I 1959).

⁴⁴ Laryngeal Theory can be found discussed in Lehmann (1955), Lindeman (1988), Szemerényi (1990: 127-163).

3.

DATA

3.1. Preliminary

Having outlined the methods used to collect and analyse the OHG weak verbs, and discussed the problems accompanying such an etymological study, the data can now be presented. However, before referring to the data section, the reader should note the following preliminary points concerning the presentation and layout of each entry.

The verbs are entered in alphabetical order. The order followed is thus: A, B, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, T, U, W, Z. (For a detailed description concerning the system of orthographic standardization used, the reader should refer to 2.2.). All verbs are quoted in their infinitive form. This includes instances when the infinitive form of a given verb is not actually attested. An exception to this, however, is preterite participle constructions which may be adjectives rather than finite verbs and which are consequently indicated as preterite participle constructions when they occur in the data. The numerous preterite participle constructions formed with the prefix *un-* in OHG have not, however, been included.

The inflectional class of the verb is not indicated, as this is apparent from the ending of the verb, i.e. verbs with an infinitive ending in *-en* belong to class I, those with an infinitive ending in *-ōn* belong to class II, and those with an infinitive ending in *-ēn* belong to class III.

A reference indicating the source from which a verb has been extracted is given after the verb together with the meaning of the verb. These source references have been quoted following the Harvard guidelines for referencing, e.g. (Raven II 1963: 245). The meaning quoted is usually that given by the source from which the verb is taken. If the meaning quoted by the source contains information concerning syntactic constructions involving the verb, this is also included (e.g. +dat. denoting that the verb takes the dative case). Distinct meanings are separated by a semi-colon and wherever possible all the meanings listed have been quoted.

An etymology is then given for each verb. The initial section of each etymology is concerned with stratifying the verb. Firstly, cognate verbs from the related Gmc languages are quoted, where extant. On the basis of these cognates, the verb is then assigned to a chronological stratum (see 2.3. for a discussion of stratification) and a reconstructed proto-form of the verb given if the stratum

antedates OHG (see 2.6. for a discussion of the systems of reconstruction used). The second section of each etymology is concerned with ascertaining a suitable derivational profile for the verb. The most convincing derivational base is selected for the verb as the first step in this process. This derivational base is then stratified on the basis of cognates. These cognates are listed, after which the derivational base is assigned to a chronological stratum and a proto-form reconstructed. The derivational category to which the verb belongs is then indicated (see 2.4. for an explanation of these derivational categories). In the case of loan verbs, the source or donor verb is quoted in the relevant language. Where a number of related lexemes are attested, but a suitable derivational base cannot be found, these related lexemes are listed and the verb simply marked “Derivational Pattern Unclear” (see 2.4.). Where primary verbs can be distinguished from derivational pattern unclear verbs on the basis of convincing IE parallels (see 2.4.), these related forms are listed and an explanation given justifying why the verb has been given a primary status. Finally, in cases where no satisfactory etymology can be found, the verb is marked “Etymology Unknown”.

In the case of prefix formations, verbal prefixes are separated by a hyphen from their simplex verb base, e.g. *ana-marcōn*, *fir-senten*, as this allows the reader to clearly identify both the prefixed element and the verb base. The etymology of the simplex verb from which a prefix formation has been derived is given under the entry for the respective simplex. In addition to this, prefix formations, rather than having entries after the simplex verb from which they derive (which is the system used in most dictionaries of OHG¹), appear in strict alphabetical order within the data as a whole. Thus, for example, all verbs formed with the prefix *bi-* will appear alphabetically under B. This has a number of advantages. By grouping together all derivations formed with a particular prefix, for example the prefix *ana-*, the reader can readily view the number of derivations extant in OHG which were formed with this prefix, as well as observe the various semantic functions of a particular prefix by comparing the individual meanings of all the verbs compounded with this prefix. Entering prefix formations in this manner also enables a system of cross-referencing. The simplex verb may readily be referred to under this system, as it can easily be identified from the prefixed verb. Furthermore all the prefix formations which derive from a simplex verb are listed at the end of the entry for the simplex verb in question, thus allowing each prefix formation to be referred to under the entry for the simplex verb.

¹ Thus Raven (I-II 1963), Starck & Wells (1990), Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings (1968-), Schützeichel (1969). Schade (1882), on the other hand, lists prefixes alphabetically, as does Lexer (I-III 1872-1878) for MHG.

3.2. The Data

The OHG weak verbs are presented in the following pages, together with their chronology and derivational profile.

A

aba-fillen “mit Gewalt abziehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 151). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-fir-meizen “abschneiden, (übtr.) verkürzen, beschränken, entfernen, beseitigen; hemmen” (Raven I 1963: 126). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-fir-scuttan “hinausschütteln, zerstreuen” (Raven I 1963: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-flōzen “flüssig machen, schmelzen, klären” (Raven I 1963: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-fuoren “herabführen, abführen” (Raven I 1963: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-gi-fillen “heftig ergreifen, rauben, fortschleppen, erbeuten” (Raven I 1963: 40). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-ir-kwicken “köpfen, enthaupten” (Raven I 1963: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-kāren “abbiegen, ablenken, abwenden, (ver)meiden, scheuen, ausweichen” (Raven I 1963: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-*

aba-krazzōn “mit eisernen Folterkrallen zerfleischen” (Raven II 1967: 82). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-leiten “Wasser ableiten, wegführen” (Raven I 1963: 103). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ābandān “(impers.) Abend werden” (Raven II 1967: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *āband* (Kluge 1989: 3) “Abend”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ābandmuosen “zu Abend essen” (Raven I 1963: 1). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *ābandmuosōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ābandmuosōn “zu Abend essen, die Abendmahlzeit einnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 3). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ābandmuos* (Starck and Wells 1990: 13) “Abendessen, Abendmahl”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

abanstigen “neidisch oder mißgünstig sein, jemandem übelwollen” (Raven I 1963: 1). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is probably best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb (see under *abanstigōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

abanstigōn “neidisch oder mißgünstig sein, jemandem übelwollen” (Raven II 1967: 3). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *āfestigan* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 5) “to be or become envious”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ēfanstigōjan* “to be or become

envious". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *abanstīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 13) "neidisch, mißgünstig"; OE *æfestig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 5) "envious, zealous", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ēfanstiga* "envious, hateful, malicious, spiteful; zealous". Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

abanstōn "neidisch sein oder werden, von Neid erfüllt sein" (Raven II 1967: 3). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *æfestian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 5) "to be or become envious", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ēfanstōjan* "to be or become envious". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *abanst* (Starck and Wells 1990: 13) "Mißgunst, Neid, Eifersucht"; OE *æfest* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 5) "envy, hatred, malice, spite; zeal, rivalry", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ēfansta* "envy, hatred, malice, spite". Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

aba-(h)nupfen "abpflücken" (Starck and Wells 1990: 446). cf. OHG **hnopfōn* II. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class I).

aba-segōn "absägen" (Raven II 1967: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-skinden "abschinden, die Rinde abschälen" (Raven I 1963: 182). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-scutten "zerstreuen" (Raven I 1963: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-streifen "(die Haut) abstreifen, d.h. sich der Haut gänzlich berauben" (Raven I 1963: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aba-wisken "abwischen, abtrocknen" (Raven I 1963: 267). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

abuhhen "verführen, verleiten" (Raven I 1963: 1). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *abuh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 14) "böse, unheilvoll, verkehrt". Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

abuhōn "verabscheuen, sich abwenden, für verkehrt oder böse halten, verschmähen, mißachten, zurückweisen" (Starck and Wells 1990: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *abuhhen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

aftar-folgēn "nachfolgen, Diener(in), Nachfolger" (Raven II 1967: 214). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

aftar-(h)ruofen "nachrufen" (Schützeichel 1969: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

agaleizzen "eifrig streben" (Raven I 1963: 1). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *agaleizi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 16) "eifrig, aufdringlich, unablässig, geschickt". Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

agaleizōn "mit Anstrengung (seufzend) etwas erstreben, sich um etwas bemühen" (Raven II 1967: 3). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *agaleizzen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

agawissōn “öffentlich bekanntmachen, an die Öffentlichkeit bringen” (Raven II 1967: 4). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *agawis*, *agiwis* (Starck and Wells 1990: 17) “öffentlich, offenbar”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

āgezōn “vergessen” (Raven II 1967: 4). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *āgez* (Starck and Wells 1990: 17) “Vergessenheit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

aharen “mit Ähren versehen” (Raven I 1963: 1). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ahar* (Schützeichel 1969: 3) “Ähre”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

āhten “Verfolgen, nachstellen” (Raven I 1963: 1). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *āhtian* I (Kluge 1989: 8) “ächten”; OFs. *āchta*, *ēchta* I (Kluge 1989: 8) “ächten”; OE *ēhtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 103) “to follow after, pursue, chase, harass, persecute, hunt, annoy, afflict, attack”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **āhtijan* “ächten, verfolgen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *āhta* (Kluge 1989: 8) “Acht, Verfolgung, Urteil, Einschätzung”; OFs. *ācht(e)* (Kluge 1989: 8) “Acht”; OE *ōht* (Kluge 1989: 8) “fear, terror; hostile pursuit, persecution, active enmity”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **āhtō* from an earlier **anhtō* (Kluge 1989: 8) “Friedlosigkeit”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *fir-*

ahitōn “beachten, erachten, acht haben, bedenken, nachdenken, meinen, überlegen, erwägen, erstreben, streiten, im Auge haben, in Gedanken für etwas halten, Rücksicht nehmen auf, (negative) geringschätzen, tadeln” (Raven II 1967: 4). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ahitōn* II (Kluge 1989: 8) “beachten, acht haben”; OFs. *achtia* II (Kluge 1989: 8) “beachten, acht haben”; OE *eahtian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 93) “to esteem, estimate; consult about, consider deliberate, watch over”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ahitōjan* “to estimate, esteem; consider”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ahita* (Kluge 1989: 8) “Urteil, Einschätzung, Acht”; OE *eaht* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 93) “assembly, council; esteem, estimation”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ahitō* (Kluge 1989: 8) “Beachtung”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *widar-*

altēn “alt werden, altern, veraltern” (Raven II 1967: 203). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ealdian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 94) “to grow old”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **aldējan* “to become old”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *elten*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *ir-*

altinōn “auf-, verschieben, verzögern, übersehen” (Raven II 1967: 5). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *elten*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with n-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

altisōn “aufschieben” (Raven II 1967: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *elten*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

altōn “versäumen etwas zu tun, es unbeachtet lassen” (Raven II 1967: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *elten*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

amarōn “ersehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 23). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *amra* II (Fritzner I 1954: 52) “jammern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **amrōjanan* “quälen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably best regarded as an 'r'-extension, deriving ultimately from the IE $\sqrt{*omə}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 778) “energisch vorgehen; daraus fest worauf bestehen, festmachen = eidlich bekräftigen und zusetzen, quälen, schädigen”, from which base the following may also be derived: ON *ama* (Pokorny I 1956: 778) “plagen, belästigen”; ON *amask* reflex (Pokorny I 1956: 778) “Anstoß nehmen, Unwillen fühlen, sich womit abplagen”; OHG *emiz* (Pokorny I 1956: 778) “beständig, fortwährend”; Skt *amāli* (Pokorny I 1956: 778) “bedrängt, versichert eindringlich, schwört”; Avest. *amayava* (Pokorny I 1956: 778) “Leid, Drangsal”. As the forms attested above are not formed with any 'r'-extension, such an extension must be a later formation. The verb cannot, therefore, be regarded as pre-Gmc. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

āmarōn “beklagen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *āmar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 23) “Betrübnis”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ambahten “fürsorgen, darreichen” (Raven I 1963: 2). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-ambihtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to minister, serve”; ON *embætta* (Lehmann 1986: 36) “to serve”; Gothic *andbahtjan* I secondary analogy to prefix 'and-' (Lehmann 1986: 36) “to serve; perform”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **ambachtijanan* “to serve”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ambaht*, *ambahti* (Starck and Wells 1990: 23) “Diener, Inhaber eines bestimmten Amtes; Auftrag, Amtsführung, Würde”; OS *ambaht* (Kluge 1989: 26) “Diener”; OE *ambiht* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “servant, attendant, officer, messenger”; ON *embætti* (Kluge 1989: 26) “Diener, Gefolgsmann”; Gothic *andbahts* (Kluge 1989: 26) “servant”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **ambacht(j)az* (Pfeifer I 1989: 46) “servant”. This represents a Gmc loan word from Proto-Celtic **ambactos* (Kluge 1989: 26) “Höriger, Diener”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *untar-*, *zuo-*

ambahtēn “dienen” (Raven II 1967: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *ambahten*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ambahtōn “dienen, für etwas Hilfsdienste leisten, etwas an die Hand geben” (Raven II 1967: 6). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ambihtian* (Lehmann 1986: 36) “to serve”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ambahtōjan* “to serve”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *ambahten*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

an “gönnen, gewähren” (Seebold 1970: 79). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-onsta* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 79) “kennen, wissen”; OE *an* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 79) “to give, support, grant, allow”; ON *ann* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 79) “gewähren, lieben”. These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **ann* (Seebold 1970: 79) “ist gewogen”. This verb can be traced back to an IE $\sqrt{*(o)nā}$, **onə* (Seebold 1970: 79) “helfen, begünstigen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Greek *ὀνίνμι* (Seebold 1970: 79) “ich nütze, helfe, erfreue jemanden”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present).

ana-betōn “anbeten, segnen, Zauberei üben, jemandem ein Unglück an den Hals wünschen, ihm etwas anzaubern” (Raven II 1967: 15). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-bi-knussen “anstoßen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 339). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-bi-truzzen “anfallen, beschuldigen” (Raven I 1963: 326). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

ana-blāen “einhauchen” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-bleckezen “schimmern, blitzen” (Raven I 1963: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-blesten “hereinbrechen, eindringen” (Raven I 1963: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-bougen “krümmen, biegen” (Raven I 1963: 11). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-bīegan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 262) “to subdue, subjugate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ana-brāhhēn “aufdrücken, einprägen” (Raven I 1963: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-brehhōn “anfahren, losfahren gegen einen” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ana-brengen “angehen” (Raven I 1963: 17).
No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-brennen “anbrennen, anzünden, in Brand stecken” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1358). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-bærnan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1358) “to set fire to, light (a fire), kindle; consume by burning, heat, inflame”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ana-brortōn “einweben” (Raven II 1967: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-brurten “anfangen, Anlaß zu etwas geben, einweihen, verheiligen” (Raven I 1963: 20). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-bryrdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 262) “to instigate, stimulate, encourage, excite, incite, inspire; animate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ana-denken “spannen, aufmerken, beachten, beabsichtigen” (Raven I 1963: 25). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-dennen “drohend hinstrecken” (Raven I 1963: 288). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-þenian* class II by levelling? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 267) “to stretch”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ana-dingōn “bevorstehen, dicht auf den Fersen drängen” (Raven II 1967: 26). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-dionōn “verwenden auf etwas” (Raven II 1967: 27). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

anadōn “sich eifern, von Eifer getrieben, zu einem bestimmten Verhalten veranlaßt werden, seinen Zorn auslassen, ahnden, rügen, bestrafen, kränken, schmerzlich nahe gehen” (Raven II 1967: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base:

OHG *anado* (Starck and Wells 1990: 25) “Nacheiferung, Neid”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ana-fallōn “anfallen, angreifen, überkommen” (Raven II 1967: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **-fallōjan* (Seebold 1970: 182) class II deverbative from strong verb **fallanan* (Seebold 1970: 181) “fallen” (see under *fellen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *ana-*).

anafangōn “in Beschlag nehmen, mit Beschlag belegen” (Raven II 1967: 6). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *anafangōn* II (Holthausen 1967: 3) “ergreifen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **anafangōjan* “to begin, start”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *anafang* (Starck and Wells 1990: 25) “Beginn”; OS *anafang* (Holthausen 1967: 3) “Anfassen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **anafangaz* “beginning, start”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

ana-fartōn “angreifen, anfahren, heftig schelten” (Raven II 1967: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fart* (Starck and Wells 1990: 142) “Fahrt; Lauf, Flucht”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ana-*).

ana-festinōn “befestigen, vernageln, hineinschlagen” (Raven II 1967: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-fir-spurnen “anstoßen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 582). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-folgēn “auf dem Fuße, d.h. unmittelbar nachfolgen, gleich hinterherkommen” (Raven II 1967: 215). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-forahten “schrecken, erschrecken, verdächtigen” (Raven I 1963: 53). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-fordarōn “anfordern” (Raven II 1967: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-frummen “etwas gegen jemanden loslassen” (Raven I 1963: 296). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-fundōn “befallen” (Raven II 1967: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-fuogen “hineinfügen, -stecken, einfügen, einmischen” (Raven I 1963: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-fuoren “einführen” (Raven I 1963: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gangarōn “herrschen, überwiegen” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gangōn “anfangen, beginnen” (Raven II 1967: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a **-gangōjan* (Seebold 1970: 214) class II deverbative from strong verb **ganganan* (Seebold 1970: 213) “gehen” (see under **gengen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *ana-*).

ana-geltōn “zu Opfern beginnen” (Raven II 1967: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gelt* (Lehmann 1986: 155) “recompense, payment, sacrifice”. cf. OHG *gote-gelt* (Lehmann 1986: 155) “divine worship”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ana-*).

ana-gi-brennen “einbrennen, brannntmarken, einprägen” (Raven I 1963: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-bringen “zusammenbringen, beisteuern, aufbringen” (Raven I 1963: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-fartōn “durchdringen, wohin gelangen, anfallen” (Raven II 1967: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-fuoren “einführen” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-heften “erlauben, verbinden” (Raven I 1963: 65). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-hengen “anhängen, anschlagen, an etwas heften oder stecken” (Raven I 1963: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-hīwen “heiraten” (Raven I 1963: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-(h)linēn “sich auf etwas stützen, d.h. sich darauf verlassen” (Raven II 1967: 237). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-kēren “gegenkehren” (Starck and Wells 1990: 327). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-kleiben “aufstreichen, bestreichen, auf etwas streichen, über etwas ziehen, hinschmieren” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-knupfen “knüpfen, hineinknüpfen, schlingen” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-leggen “in etwas setzen, hineinlegen” (Raven I 1963: 311). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-mahhōn “auftragen” (Raven II 1967: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-(h)neigen “sich auf oder an etwas stemmen, stützen, anlehnen” (Raven I 1963: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-ginēn “gierig nach etwas trachten, heftig verlangen oder dürsten nach” (Raven II 1967: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-gi-rūtōn “(hervor)stürmen” (Raven II 1967: 124). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

- ana-gi-sezzen* “einpropfen, hineinsetzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 519). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-gi-scricken* “etwas über jemanden kommen” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-gi-scutton* “(ein-)stoßen” (Raven I 1963: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-gi-sloufen* “hineinfügen, hineinbringen” (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-gi-stepfen* “betreten, beschreiten” (Raven I 1963: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-gi-suohhen* “nach etwas streben oder verlangen, heimsuchen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 610). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-gi-trūēn, ana-gi-trūwēn* “sich verlassen auf etwas” (Raven II 1967: 265). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-giwēn* “gähnen, das Maul aufsperrn, sich niederlegen, oder schlafengehen” (Raven II 1967: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-grisgramōn* “mit den Zähnen knirschen” (Raven II 1967: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-haben* “anhaben, bekleidet sein mit” (Raven I 1963: 302). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-haftēn* “festhalten an, hängen an, eifrig betreiben oder verfolgen (?), innewohnen, angeboren” (Raven II 1967: 224). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-haldēn* “sich neigen über, sich an etwas lehnen oder stützen, sich zuwenden” (Raven II 1967: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-harēn* “(+acc. pers.) anrufen, anflehen, nennen” (Raven II 1967: 226). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-heften* “hineintun, einführen, verursachen, beibringen” (Raven I 1963: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-ilen* “den Mund aufsperrn, gaffen, gierig nach etwas trachten, verlangen” (Raven I 1963: 79). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-impitōn* “pfropfen” (Raven II 1967: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
- ana-ir-swārēn* “(von der Hungersnot) sich verschlimmern, schwerer, lästiger oder drückender werden” (Raven II 1967: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-kēren “ankehren, etwas wohin wenden oder richten, umkehren, spannen, an-, ausspannen, beabsichtigen” (Raven I 1963: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-klebēn “festsitzen, haften, in Ordnung halten, beschränken, der in Ordnung hält” (Raven II 1967: 231). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-clifian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 262) “to adhere, stick to, persist”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ana-kleiben “in oder auf etwas streichen, über etwas ziehen, etwas bestreichen, kleben, verschmieren, in oder an etwas wachsen, ein- oder anwachsen” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-knussen “stoßen, anschlagen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 339). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-cnyssan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 262) “to cast down, afflict”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ana-kundōn “verurteilen, schuldig sprechen? Tadel erfahren? beschuldigen? anklagen?” (Raven II 1967: 83). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-leggen “an-, auflegen, (Kleider) gebrauchen, vor Augen stehen, festnehmen, drohen, bedrängen” (Raven I 1963: 310). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-lecgende* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 265) “(salve) to be applied”; Gothic *ana-lagjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 233) “to lay on”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ana-lēhanōn “ein Darlehen geben, aushelfen” (Raven II 1967: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-leiten “anziehen, überziehen, hineinführen, einführen, bringen” (Raven I 1963: 103). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-lædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 265) “to introduce, lead in”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ana-leitōn “anleiten” (Raven II 1967: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-(h)linēn “eifrig oder emsig betreiben, sich lagern auf” (Raven II 1967: 237). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-hlinian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 265) “to lean on”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

(ana)-(h)liuten “lauten” (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-marcōn “anmerken” (Raven II 1967: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-menden “sich freuen, frohlocken, lenzartig werden, blühen, prangen, jubeln, jauchzen, verkündigen, melden, anzeigen, umherschwärmen” (Raven I 1963: 127). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-merken “Grenzen vorschreiben, begrenzen” (Raven I 1963: 127). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-(h)negēn “auf etwas stehen, sich an etwas anlehnen oder stützen, stehen bleiben” (Raven II 1967: 245). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-nenden “sich wagen an, angreifen, sich erheben” (Raven I 1963: 139). Gothic *ana-nanþjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 31) “to take courage, be bold, dare”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ana-rennen “anrennen, anstürmen, gegen den Feind stürzen” (Raven I 1963: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-rēren “einschieben” (Raven I 1963: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-rihten “richten, bereiten, lenken, regieren, anweisen, erklären, zusammenstürzen, entstellen, verunstalten, verschlechtern, ausbessern, herstellen, den Krieg leiten, urteilen, rüsten, bezahlen, bestrafen, berichten, dichterisch gestalten, Fangarn aufstellen, aufstellen, wenden, rechtlich vergüten, einem etwas zu Recht (durch Eidschwur) beweisen, sich zurecht finden, den Tisch decken, sich überlegen, die Richtung geben, untertan machen, zähmen, das Wort richten” (Raven I 1963: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-(h)ruofen “schreien, an- oder herrufen, anflehen, eine Einrede vorbringen” (Raven I 1963: 163). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-sāen “hineinsäen, -bepflanzen” (Raven I 1963: 167). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-sagen “beschuldigen, eine Beschuldigung vorbringen, anklagen, entgegnen, einwenden” (Raven I 1963: 317). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-sagēn “Beschuldigung über jemanden bringen, entgegnen, bezeugen” (Raven II 1967: 250). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-secgan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 266) “to renounce, deny; offer sacrifice; impute, inform”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ana-senten “ansenden, loslassen” (Raven I 1963: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-sezzan “ansetzen, daraufstellen” (Raven I 1963: 172). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-siuwen “an-, einnähen” (Raven I 1963: 320). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-scouwōn “betrachten” (Raven II 1967: 135). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-screcken “angreifen” (Raven I 1963: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-scunten “(leidenschaftlich) entflammen oder anregen” (Raven I 1963: 187). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-scurgen “hinunter-, hinabstürzen” (Raven I 1963: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-smidōn “anschmieden” (Raven II 1967: 139). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-spidaren “sich auf oder an etwas stützen, stemmen, (übtr.) auf etwas ruhen” (Raven I 1963: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-steckōn, ana-stēhhōn “schlachten, niedermachen, töten” (Raven II 1967: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-stepfen “einher-, hineinschreiten, in etwas eintreten, beginnen” (Raven I 1963: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-switzen “an oder bei etwas schwitzen” (Raven I 1963: 221). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-twellen “(ver) zögern, träge oder säumig sein” (Raven I 1963: 234). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-wāen “(Staub) anwehen, wehen lassen” (Raven I 1963: 246). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-wartēn “(+acc). achten auf, achtgeben auf, anschauen, ansehen, beobachten, bedacht sein auf” (Raven II 1967: 270). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-wenten “etwas auf jemandem hinlenken, es ihm antun, legen an, einen oder etwas (acc.) hinwenden zu” (Raven I 1963: 256). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-wendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 268) “to change, exchange; upset, end, overturn, turn aside, avert; amend; pervert; transgress; deprive; return”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ana-zēhhōn “geschminkt” (Starck and Wells 1990: 755). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-zeihhanen “(das Licht des Angesichtes) leuchten lassen” (Raven I 1963: 272). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-zellen “etwas aussagen, gegen einer Sache bezichtigen (Akk. der Person und Dat. der Sache), aufzählen, vorrechnen, vorhalten, Schuld geben” (Raven I 1963: 275). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-zi-heften “aufhängen, erhängen, emporheben, schweben machen” (Raven I 1963: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-zucken “an sich zucken, sich anmaßen” (Raven I 1963: 280). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ana-zuckōn, zi-zockōn “(reflex.) sich anmaßen, für sich in Anspruch nehmen, vorgeben, vorlügen” (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

anazzen “anreizen, erregen, aufmuntern, entflammen, aufwiegeln” (Raven I 1963: 2). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **anatjan* (Seebold 1970: 78) class I intensive deverbative from strong verb **ananan* (Seebold 1970: 78) “atmen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: Gothic *uz-on* pret. sg. (Seebold 1970: 78) “verschied (hauchte sein Leben aus)”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

anderlīhhōn “sich wechseln, verändern, verwandeln” (Raven II 1967: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *anderlīhhī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 28) “Wesensänderung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

anderwīsōn “(ver)ändern, umgestalten” (Raven II 1967: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *anderwīs* adv (Starck and Wells 1990: 28) “anders, sonst”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation.

angēn “(impers. +dat. pers.) einem bange sein, ihn drängen, sich in großer Not befinden, ängstlich oder unruhig sein” (Raven II 1967: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *engen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

angusten “in Angst geraten, sich änstigen” (Raven I 1963: 3). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *angesten* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 525). MDu *anxten* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 525) “sich ängstigen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **angustijan* “sich ängstigen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *angust* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 523) “Angst, Furcht, Bedrängnis, Unruhe, Sorge, Schmerz, Leid”; MLG *angest* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 523) “Angst, Furcht”; MDu *anxt* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 523) “Angst, Furcht”; OFs. *angst* (Kluge 1989: 30) “Angst”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **angusti* (Kluge 1989: 30) “Angst”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

angustēn “sich ängstigen, in Angst sein, besorgt oder betrübt sein” (Raven II 1967: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *angusten*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

antarōn “nachahmen, nachäffen” (Raven II 1967: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ander*, *anter*, *anther* pron./adj. cardinal numeral (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 462) “(der) andere, (der) zweite”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

antfrāgōn “befragen” (Raven II 1967: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *antfrāga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 30). Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

antfristōn “auslegen, deuten” (Raven II 1967: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *antfrist* (Starck and Wells 1990: 30) “Ausleger, Erklärer”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

antheizzōn “zum Opfer geloben, zum Tode weihen, eidlich versprechen, ein Gelübde leisten oder tun, geloben” (Raven II 1967: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *antheiz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 30) “Gelübde, Amtsgelübde”; OHG *antheiza* (Starck and Wells 1990: 30) “Gelübde, das Gelobte”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

antlāzzōn “erlassen, Ablass erteilen, sich erquicken, süß werden” (Raven II 1967: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *antlāz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 30) “Erlaubnis, Aufschub, Sündenvergebung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

antlingen “antworten” (Raven I 1963: 3). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: Latin *lingua* (Niermeyer 1976: 614) “tongue, language”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb, formed from Latin loan-word *lingua*, and given prefix *ant-* on analogy with OHG class I weak verb *antwurten* (which see).

antlingōn “antworten” (Raven II 1967: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. For the derivational profile of this verb see under *antlingen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

antōn “eifern gegen, sich ereifern für” (Starck and Wells 1990: 31). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *andōn* II (Kluge 1989: 14) “to be envious”; OE *andian* II (Kluge 1989: 14) “to be envious or jealous”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **andōjan* (Kluge 1989: 14) “to be envious or jealous”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *anto* (Kluge 1989: 14) “Zorn, Eifer, Neid”; OS *ando* (Kluge 1989: 14) “Eifer, Neid”; OE *anda* (Kluge 1989: 14) “grudge, enmity, envy, anger, vexation; zeal; injury, mischief; fear, horror”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **andan* “Zorn, Eifer, Neid”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

antreitōn “ordnen, der Reihe nach oder reihenweise besetzen mit” (Raven II 1967: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *antreit* (Starck and Wells 1990: 31) “Reihenfolger”; OHG *antreita* (Starck and Wells 1990: 31) “Ordnung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

antseidōn, *antseidigōn* “verteidigen” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 563). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *antseida*, *antseidiga* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 562) “Verteidigung, Entschuldigung, Rechtfertigung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

antwurten “antworten” (Raven I 1963: 3). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *andwordian* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 570) “antworten”; OFs. *ondwardia* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 570) “antworten”; OE *andwyrðan*, *andwirdan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 570) “to answer, reply, respond”; Gothic *andwaurdjan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 570) “antworten”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **andawurðjijanan* “to answer”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *antwort* (Kluge 1989: 33) “Antwort, Verheißung, Orakel”; OS *andwordi* (Kluge 1989: 33) “Antwort”; OFs. *ondwarde* (Kluge 1989: 33) “Antwort”; OE *andwyrde* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 21) “answer”; Gothic *andawaurdi* (Kluge 1989: 33) “answer, reply”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **andawurðjan* “answer”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *widar-*, *widar-gi-*

arahōn “bunte, künstliche Zeuge fertigen, Schleife oder Öse” (Raven II 1967: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **arah* in *arahlahhan* (Starck and Wells 1990: “kunstvoll gewebte Decke”). Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

arawingōn “abgehen, abwenden, verfehlen” (Raven II 1967: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *arawingo* adv (Starck and Wells 1990: 32) “umsonst”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation.

arbeiten “sich abmühen, arbeiten, große Sorge auf etwas verwenden” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 626). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *arbeiden* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 626) “sich abmühen, arbeiten”; MDu *arbeiden* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 626) “sich abmühen, arbeiten”; OFs. *arbeida* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 626) “sich abmühen, arbeiten”; ON *erfiða* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 626) “arbeiten, sich bemühen”; Gothic *arbaidjan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 626) “to work”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **arbaiþijanan* “arbeiten, sich bemühen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *arbeit(i)* (Pfeifer I 1989: 70) “Arbeit, Mühe”; OS *arbed(i)* (Kluge 1989: 38) “Arbeit”; OFs. *arbed*, *arbed* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 626) “Arbeit”; OE *earfoðe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 96) “hardship, labour, trouble, difficulty, suffering, torment, torture”; ON *erfiði* (Kluge 1989: 38) “Mühe, Arbeit”; Gothic

arbaiþs (Kluge 1989: 38) “work, distress”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **arbaiþiz* (Kluge 1989: 38) “Mühsal, Arbeit”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

arbeitōn “peinigen, plagen, bedrängen, sich abmühen, arbeiten” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 629). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *arbidōn* II (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 629). OE *earfoðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 96) “to trouble”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **arbaiþōjan* “arbeiten, sich bemühen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *arbeiten*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

argirōn “verschlimmern, verderben, schlechter machen, zum Bösen wenden oder dazu reizen, ärgern” (Raven II 1967: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *argiro* this the comparative grade of the OHG adjective *arg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 33) “geizig, sparsam, feige, böse”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

arg-kōsōn “übelreden” (Raven II 1967: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *arg* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 33) “geizig, sparsam, feige, böse”; cf. OHG *kōsōn* II “sich besprechen, reden, aussagen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

argkustigōn “schlau, verschlagen, hinterlistig sein” (Raven II 1967: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *argkustīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 33) “lasterhaft, betrügerisch”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

argwānen “argwöhnen, vermuten, mutmaßen, ahnen” (Raven I 1963: 5). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *argwān* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 639) “Argwohn, Verdacht”. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

armeinsamōn “ausschließen; excommunicäre” (Raven II 1967: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *armeinsamī* (Schade I 1882: 29) “excommunicatio”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

armēn “arm werden, Not leiden” (Raven II 1967: 203). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *armōn* II (Heyne 1905: 182) “dürftig sein”; OE *earmian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 96) “to pity, commiserate”; Gothic *arman* III (Lehmann 1986: 43) “to take pity on”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **armējanan* “to be or become poor”. cf. ON *erma* I (Fritzner I 1973: 351) “anse nogen for eller omtale ham som armr”. The original meaning here was probably “to be poor” (see the adjective below). The meaning “to take pity on, commiserate” found in OE is a semantic loan from the Latin verb *miserēre* (Kluge 1989: 183) “sich erbarmen”. Latin *miserēre* is, in turn, a deadjectival verb from the Latin adjective *miser* (Kluge 1989: 183) “arm, elend, kläglich”. This semantic loan is a later development and was used in OE to express the Christian concept of taking pity and being charitable. Likewise, the Gothic verb has become Christianized to take on the meaning “to take pity on”. It is also a semantic loan, but in this case from the Greek verb ἐλεέω (Pfeifer I 1989: 126) “ich bemitleide, habe Mitleid oder Erbarmen” (see also *barmēn*). The original Gmc verb is deadjectival, deriving from the following nominal base: (see under *ermen*). Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

arnēn “ernten, bezahlen, wieder gut machen, entgelten” (Raven II 1967: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *arn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 34) “Ernte”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

arnōn “ernten, bezahlen, wieder gut machen, entgelten” (Raven II 1967: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *arnēn*.

Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

artōn “das Land bebauen, wohnen, das Land zugrunde richten, die Erde untertan machen, erbetteln” (Raven II 1967: 10). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ardōn* II (Schade I 1882: 31) “bewohnen”; OE *eardian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 95) “to inhabit, dwell, abide, live”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ardōjan* “to inhabit, dwell”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *art* (Starck and Wells 1990: 35) “das Pflügen, Ackerbau”; OS *ard* (Schade I 1882: 31) “Aufenthalt, Wohnort, Wohnung”; OE *eard* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 95) “native place, country, region, dwelling place, estate, cultivated ground; earth, land”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **arđuz* (Seebold 1970: 82) “land, region, earth”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ārunten “ankündigen” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 666). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ārundian* I (Raven II 1967: 10) “ankündigen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ērundjijan* “ankündigen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ārunti* (Starck and Wells 1990: 35) “Sendung, Botschaft, Auftrag”; OS *ārundi* (Onions 1966: 324) “Sendung, Botschaft, Auftrag”; OFs. *ērende* (Onions 1966: 324) “Sendung, Botschaft, Auftrag”; OE *ārende* (Onions 1966: 324) “errand, message; mission”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ērundjan* “errand”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

ārontōn “die Heilbotschaft Gottes verkündigen, ankündigen” (Raven II 1967:10). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ārendian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 9) “to go on an errand, carry a message, send word to; intercede; seek for, obtain”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ērundjōjan* “ankündigen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *ārunten*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

asōn “kriechen” (Raven II 1967: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

āswihhōn “Anstoß nehmen” (Raven II 1967: 11). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *āswician* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 11) “to offend, deceive; apostatize; desert”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **āswikōjan* “to offend”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *āswih* (Starck and Wells 1990: 36) “Ärgernis, Anstoß, Übeltat”; OE *āswic* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 11) “offence, stumbling-block, infamy, seduction, deceit”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **āswikaz* “offence, misdeed”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

ātamōn “atmen, schnauben, keuchend nach Luft schnappen” (Raven II 1967: 11). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *āðmian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 13) “to fume, exhale, emit a smell”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **āðmōjan* “atmen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ātum* (Starck and Wells 1990: 37) “Hauch, Atem, böser Geist, heiliger Geist”; OS *āðom* (Kluge 1989: 45) “Hauch, Atem”; OFs. *ēðma* (Kluge 1989: 45) “Hauch, Atem”; OE *āðm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 13) “air, breath, breathing; vapour, smell”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **āðmaz* (Kluge 1989: 45) “Atem, Hauch”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

āmezzēn, āumezzēn “ausatmen, laut ausatmen, keuchen” (Raven I 1963: 5). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **ālmatjan* “laut ausatmen” intensive deverbative from WGmc class II weak verb **ōmōjan* “atmen”. This verb attested in the following: OHG *āmōn* II (Raven II 1967: 11) “atmen”; OE *āōmian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 13) “to fume, exhale, emit a smell”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

auhhōn “hinzufigen, hinzugeben, (ver)mehren, größer machen” (Raven II 1967: 11). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ēacian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 92) “to increase”; ON *auka* II (Seebold 1970: 84) “vermehren”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **aukōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 84) class II deverbative from strong verb **aukanan* (Seebold 1970: 84) “mehren”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *auhhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 84) “hinzufigen”; OS *ōkan* pret. part. adj. (Seebold 1970: 84) “schwanger”; OFs. *āka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 84) “vermehren”; OE *ēacen* pret. part. adj. (Seebold 1970: 84) “increased, augmented; richly endowed, strong, great, vast, vigorous; pregnant”; ON *auka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 84) “vermehren, verstärken, erschweren, übertreffen”; Gothic *aukan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 84) “sich mehrer, hinzufigen”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *untar-*, *zisamene-gi-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

avalōn “arbeiten, viel zu schaffen haben, sich rühren, rührig sein, wiedererstehen, neu (erbaut) werden, Bearbeiter, sich anstrengen, sich beeifern” (Raven II 1967: 3). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *afla* II (de Vries 1962: 2) “arbeiten, schaffen, erwerben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **abalōjanan* “to work”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *afel* (Schade I 1882: 40 “arbeitende, eiternde Materie in Geschwüren”; OS *abal* (de Vries 1962: 2) “Kraft”; OE *afol* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 14) “power, might”; ON *afl* (de Vries 1962: 2) “Kraft, Macht, Stimmenmehrheit”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **abalan* “work, power, might”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

avaren, abaren “wiederholen” (Raven I 1963: 1). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *avur, abur* adv (Starck and Wells 1990: 37) “wieder, wiederum, abermals, dagegen”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

avarōn “wiederholen, erneuern, ersetzen” (Raven II 1967: 3). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *avaren*. Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

avur-bringen, abur-bringen “zurückbringen, zurückführen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

avur-gi-zeihhanen, abur-gi-zeihhanen “wieder bestätigen (?)” (Raven I 1963: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

avur-huggen, avur-huggenti “pres. participle Mangel an Mäßigung oder Selbstbeherrschung haben, Übermut, Zügellosigkeit” (Raven I 1963: 305). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(avur-)sagēn “wiederholen” (Raven II 1967: 250). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

avur-suohhen “requirere” (Raven I 1963: 215). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

āwerfōn “verwerfen” (Raven II 1967: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *āwerf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 38) “Frühgeburt, Absage, Ehescheidung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

āwiggōn “vom Wege abkommen oder abirren, sich verirren, irregehen” (Raven II 1967: 12). The following cognate verbs are attested: OHG *āwiggī* subst. (Starck and Wells 1990: 38) “Abweg, unwegsame Gegend, Scheideweg”; OHG *āwiggī* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 38) “unwegsam, irreführend, irregeleitet”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival / denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

āwizzōn “irre gehen, närrisch sein, toben, von sinnen sein, betäubt oder wirt sein” (Raven II 1967: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *āwizza* subst. (Starck and Wells 1990: 38) “Verrücktheit”; OHG *āwizzi* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 38) “unsinnig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival / denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

āzen, āzzen “nähren, weiden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 39). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *āz* (Kluge 1989: 1) “Speise, Essen”. This verb may alternatively, however, be a deverbative from the strong verb **etanān* “essen” (see under *ezzen*), in which case OHG *āz* may be post-verbal. Whatever the case, the verb has probably been influenced to a large degree by the strong verb. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

az-hengen “erwägen, zuwägen” (Raven I 1963: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

az-klebēn “anhaften” (Raven II 1967: 231). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

āzōn “Futter suchen” (Raven II 1967: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *āz* (Kluge 1989: 1) “Speise, Essen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. This verb may alternatively, however, be a deverbative from the strong verb **etanān* “essen” (see under *ezzen*), in which case OHG *āz* may be post-verbal. Whatever the case, the verb has probably been influenced to a large degree by the strong verb.

B

badōn “abwaschen, baden” (Raven II 1967: 12). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *badian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 33) “to wash, lave, bathe”; ON *baðast* reflexive ‘-ast’ is a secondary development (de Vries 1962: 22) “baden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **baþōjanan* “to bathe”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bad* (Starck and Wells 1990: 38) “Bad, Wasserbad, Badeanstalt, Taufe”; OS *bath* (Kluge 1889: 54) “Bad”; OFs. *be(i)th* (Kluge 1889: 54) “Bad”; OE *bæð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 32) “bath, medicinal spar”; ON *bað* (Kluge 1889: 54) “Bad”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **baþaz* (Kluge 1889: 54) “bath”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

bāen “bähen, feucht erwärmen, baden, warm waschen” (Raven I 1963: 5). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **bējan* with loss of voiced medial velar fricative before semi-vowel from an earlier **bēgjan* “bähen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*bhē}$, **bhō-* (Pokorny I 1959: 113) “wärmen, rösten”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *bad* with IE *to-*suffix (Pokorny I 1959: 113) “Bad”; OHG *bahhan* st. vb with guttural extension (Pokorny I 1959: 113) “backen”; OE *bacan* st. vb with guttural extension (Pokorny I 1959: 113) “backen”; Greek $\phi\acute{o}\gamma\omega$ g-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 113) “ich röste, brate”. As attested forms of this verb are confined to OHG and as there are insufficient IE parallels, this verb cannot be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

bāgēn “mit Worten streiten, disputieren” (Raven II 1967: 204). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *bāga* II, originally class III? (Seebold 1970: 94) “sich rühmen”; ON *bāga* II, originally class III? (Seebold 1970: 94) “drücken, hindern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **bēgējanan* (Seebold 1970: 94), class III deverbative from strong verb **bēganan* (Seebold 1970: 93) “streiten”. This strong verb is attested in: OHG *bāgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 93) “schelten, streiten”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

bahhōn “backen” (Seebold 1970: 87). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *baka* II (Seebold 1970: 87) “braten, backen, kneten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **bakōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 87) “backen”, class II deverbative from strong verb **bakanan* (Seebold 1970: 87) “backen” (see under *backen*). Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

backen “backen, kochen, reifen, rösten, verbrennen, trocknen, dörren” (Raven I 1963: 5). cf. OHG *bahhōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bakkan* wk vb, intensive gemination (Pfeifer I 1989: 109) “backen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bakkan* intensive gemination (Kluge 1989: 54) “backen”, intensive deverbative from strong verb **bakanan* (Seebold 1970: 87) “backen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bahhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 87) “backen”; OE *bacan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 87) “to bake”. From an early stage both the strong verb in *-k-* and the intensive derivative in *-kk-* became mixed. Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

balden, belden “kühn machen, stärken” (Raven I 1963: 6). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *bieldan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 48) “to encourage, excite, impel, exhort, confirm”; ON *bella* I (de Vries 1962: 32) “kräftig machen, aufmuntern, ausführen”; Gothic *balþjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 60) “to be bold, dare”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **balþijan* “to make bold, encourage”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bald* (Starck and Wells 1990: 41) “mutig, dreist, frei”; OS *bald* (Lehmann 1986: 60) “brave, bold”; OFs. *bald* (de Vries 1962: 24) “brave, bold”; OE *beald* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 34) “brave, bold, confident, strong; presumptuous, impudent”; ON *ballr* (Lehmann 1986:

60) “brave, bold”. cf. Gothic *balpei* subst. (Lehmann 1986: 60) “boldness”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **balpaz* (de Vries 1962: 24) “bold”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

baldēn “Mut fassen, vorwegnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *balden*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

balsamen “mit Balsam würzen” (Raven I 1963: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *balsamo* (Kluge 1989: 57) “balsam, balm” < Latin *balsamum* (Kluge 1989: 57) “balsam” < Greek βάλσαμον (Kluge 1989: 57) “balsam” < Hebrew *bāsām* (Kluge 1989: 57) “balsam”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

banihhōn “über etwas nachdenken, nachsinnen, überlegen, in etwas erfahren, geübt, d.h. sachkundig” (Raven II 1967: 13). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

bannōn “bannen, vor Gericht fordern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 42). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *banna* II (Seebold 1970: 89) “verwehren, verhindern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **bannōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 89) class II deverbative from strong verb **bannanan* (Seebold 1970: 89) “aufbieten” (see under *bennen*). Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

banōn “sich abmühen oder erschöpfen, anregen, anspornen, auffordern, bändigen, bezwingen, eine Tätigkeit ausüben = nach einem Ziele schießen, Führer des Kriegsheeres” (Raven II 1967: 13). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ban* (Starck and Wells 1990: 41) “Gebot, Ächtung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

barmēn “sich erbarmen” (Raven II 1967: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. This verb is a contracted form of an earlier, unattested OHG **bi-armēn* (Pfeifer I 1989: 126), this a prefix formation from the OHG simplex *armēn* (which see). It is an ecclesiastical word used to express the Christian concept of “taking pity”, and as such represents a semantic loan from the Latin verb *miserēre* (Kluge 1989: 183) “sich erbarmen”. Latin *miserēre* is, in turn, a deadjectival verb from the Latin adjective *miser* (Kluge 1989: 183) “arm, elend, kläglich”. The formation and use of OHG *barmen* has, no doubt, been influenced by Gothic (*ga*)-*arman* III (Kluge 1989: 183) “to have pity”, which is an ecclesiastical loan translation from the Greek verb ἐλεέω (Pfeifer I 1989: 126) “ich bemitleide, habe Mitleid oder Erbarmen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *febano-jir-*

barmōn “auf dem Schoß (oder am Busen) halten, das Amt einer (Säug-)Amme bekleiden” (Raven II 1967: 13). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *barm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 42) “Schoß, Busen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

barōn “entblößen [offenbaren], ohne Mittel zurücklassen” (Raven II 1967: 13). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *baria* II (de Vries 1962: 33) “entblößen”; OE *barian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 33) “to lay bare, uncover; depopulate”; ON *bera* II (de Vries 1962: 33) “entblößen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bazōjan* “to make bare, uncover, lay bare”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 42) “bar, bloß, öffentlich, rein”; OS *bar* (Kluge 1989: 59) “bar, bloß”; OFs. *ber* (Kluge 1989: 59) “bar, bloß”; OE *bær* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 32) “bare, uncovered; naked, unclothed”; ON *berr* (Kluge 1989: 59) “entblößt, nackt; sichtbar, deutlich”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **bazaz* (Kluge 1989: 59) “bar, bloß”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*

barrēn “emporstrecken, wiederholt hervor- bzw. hinausstrecken, starr emporstehen, (hoch) strecken, steif oder starr oder unbeugsam sein, (den Kopf) rückwärts beugen” (Raven II 1967: 205). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 42) “starr, aufgerichtet”. The gemination of medial ‘r’ is probably due to analogy with the gemination occurring in class I verbs. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

bartēn “Barthaare bekommen” (Raven II 1967: 205). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bart* (Kluge 1989: 62) “Bart”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

bartōn “dreinschlagen (=strafend vorgehen), ursprünglich mit der Streitaxt oder ‘barta’ hauen” (Raven II 1967: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *barta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 43) “Axt, Richtbeil, Hellebarde”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

bazēn “besser werden” (Raven II 1967: 205). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *baz* adv (Starck and Wells 1990: 43) “besser”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation.

beiten “drängen, nötigen; sich bemühen, streben, verlangen” (Raven I 1963: 6). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bēdian* I (Seebold 1970: 95) “drängen”; OE *bædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 32) “to urge on, impel, constrain, compel, require, solicit; afflict, oppress”; ON *beida* I (Seebold 1970: 95) “bezwingen; verlangen, fordern”; Gothic *baidjan* I (Seebold 1970: 95) “to compel”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **baidējanan* (Seebold 1970: 95) “zwingen; verlangen, fordern”, class I deverbative from strong verb **beidanan* (Seebold 1970: 94) “warten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bītan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 94) “zögern, etwas erwarten, hoffen, warten (auf)”; OE *bīdan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 94) “to remain, await, wait for, expect, endure”; ON *bíða* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 94) “warten, erdulden, durch warten erlangen; *impers.* Zeit haben”; Gothic *beidan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 94) “warten auf”. Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: (*dara-*) *ūz-*, *fram-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *ūf-*, *ūz-*, *zi-*, *zisamene-*

beitōn “warten, erwarten, warten auf (+gen.), Geduld haben (+gen.), einem Frist geben oder Zeit gönnen (+dat.), zögern” (Raven II 1967: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **baidōjan* (Seebold 1970: 95), class II deverbative from strong verb **beidanan* (Seebold 1970: 95) “warten” (see under *beiten*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*, *ir-*

beizen “beizen, erregen” (Raven I 1963: 7). cf. OHG *bizzōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *und-bētan* I (Seebold 1970: 97) “absitzen”; OE *bætan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 32) “to bridle, rein in, restrain, curb, bit”; ON *beita* I (Seebold 1970: 97) “beißen lassen, zäumen; weiden; jagen; töten”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **baitejanan* (Seebold 1970: 97) “to cause to bite, bridle”, causative deverbative from strong verb **beitanan* (Seebold 1970: 96) “beißen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bēzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 96) “beißen, schneiden, stechen”; OS *bītan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 96) “beißen, knirschen”; OFs. *bīta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 96) “beißen, eindringen”; OE *bītan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 96) “to bite, tear; cut, wound”; ON *bíta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 96) “beißen, essen, weiden”; Gothic *beitan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 96) “beißen”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

belgen “auffordern, herausfordern, reizen, beschädigen” (Raven I 1963: 7). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ar-belgan* I (Seebold 1970: 99) “erzürnen”; OE *ā-belgan*, *ā-bylgan* I (Seebold 1970: 99) “to irritate, provoke”; ON *belgja* I (Seebold 1970: 99) “aufbauschen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **balgejanan* (Seebold 1970: 99) causative deverbative from strong verb **belgan* (Seebold 1970: 99) “schwellen, zürnen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *belgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 99) “(er)zürnen, in Zorn geraten”; OS *belgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 99) “zürnen”; OFs. *ovir-bulgen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 99) “erzürmt”; OE *belgan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 40) “to be or become angry; offend, provoke”; ON *bolgenn* st. vb pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 99) “angeschwollen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

bellōn “ächzen oder stöhnen, brüllen (Tiere, Menschen), (über-) knarren oder krachen (Sachen)” (Raven II 1967: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **bellōjan* (Seebold 1970: 101) “brüllen”, class II deverbative from strong verb **bellanan* (Seebold 1970: 101) “bellen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bellan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 101) “latro, muttio, persono”; OE *bellan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 40) “to bellow, bark, grunt, roar”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

bennen “gebieten” (Seebold 1970: 89). cf. OHG *bannōn* II. No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **bannejan* (Seebold 1970: 89) class I deverbative formation from strong verb **bannanan* (Seebold 1970: 89) “aufbieten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bannan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 89) “vorladen, befehlen, bannen”; OS *bannan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 89) “vorladen”; OFs. *banna* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 89) “aufbieten, befehlen, vorladen, bannen”; OE *bannan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 33) “to summon, command, proclaim”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

berahaftōn “befruchten, fruchtbar machen” (Raven II 1967: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *berahaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 46) “fruchtbar”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

berahten “glänzen, prächtig sein” (Raven I 1963: 7). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-bierhtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 48) “to brighten, be or make bright, illuminate, enlighten; make clear; celebrate”; ON *birta* I, with loss of velar fricative (de Vries 1962: 37) “klar machen, erhellen; erläutern”; Gothic *bairhtjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 58) “to show”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **berhtijanan* “to shine, make bright or brilliant”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *beraht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 46) “glänzend, klar, hell, strahlend”; OS *ber(a)ht* (Lehmann 1986: 58). OE *beorcht* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 42) “bright, shining, brilliant; light, clear, lucid; clear-sounding, loud; excellent, distinguished, remarkable, beautiful, magnificent, noble, glorious; pure, sublime; holy, divine”; ON *bjartr* (de Vries 1962: 39) “licht, hell”; Gothic *bairhts* (Lehmann 1986: 58) “hell, glänzend, deutlich”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **berhtaz* “brilliant, bright, clear, shining”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

berahtēn “erglänzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 46). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *beorhtian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 42) “to glisten, shine; to sound clearly”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **berhtējan* “to be bright or brilliant, to shine, be shining”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *berahten*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

berren, berien “zerstampfen, zertreten, zerschlagen” (Raven 1963: 285). cf. OHG *borōn* I. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE **beran* I attested in pret. part. *ge-bered* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 914) “crushed, kneaded”; ON *berja* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 914) “schlagen, dreschen, töten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc

**barjanan* “zerstampfen, schlagen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut 'o' or 'e' grade of IE $\sqrt{*bher-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 133) mit einem scharfen Werkzeug bearbeiten, ritzen, scheiden, reiben, spalten”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *borōn* II < zero-grade (Pokorny I 1956: 135) “bohren”; Latin *ferire* (Pokorny I 1956: 134) “stoßen, hauen, schlagen, stechen, treffen”; Latin *forāre* < 'Vollstufe' (Kluge 1989: 96) “bohren”; Greek $\varphi\alpha\rho\acute{o}\omega$ (Pokorny I 1956: 134) “ich pflüge”; Skt *bhrnāti* (Pokorny I 1956: 133) “versehrt”; Mlr. *bern, berna* (Pokorny I 1956: 134) “Kluft, Schlitz”; OCS *borjo, brati* (Pokorny I 1956: 135) “kämpfen”; Lith. *barù, bárti* (Pokorny I 1956: 135) “schelten, schmähen”; Alb. *bie* (Pokorny I 1956: 135) “klopfe, schlage; falle (schlage hin)”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

besten “nähen, flicken, ausbessern” (Raven I 1963: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bast* (Kluge 1989: 63) “Bast, Bastseil”; OE *bæst* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 32) “the inner bark of a tree from which ropes were made”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *in-gi-*

betālōn “betteln” (Raven II 1967: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **bed(a)lōjan* “betteln”, class II frequentative / continuative deverbative formed with l-extension from strong verb **bedjanan* (Seebold 1970: 92) “bitten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bitten* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 92) “bitten”; OS *biddian* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 92) “bitten”; OFs. *bidda* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 92) “bitten”; OE *biddan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 48) “to ask, entreat, pray, beseech; order, command, require”; ON *biðja* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 92) “bitten, auffordern, befehlen; um ein Weib werben (gen.)”; Gothic *bidjan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 92) “bitten”. Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

betōn “beten, anbeten, bitten, Gottesdienst tun, anflehen” (Raven II 1967: 14). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bedōn* II (Kluge 1989: 79) “beten, bitten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bedōjan* “beten”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *beta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 48) “Bitte, Gebet, Fürsprache”; OS *beda* (Kluge 1989: 80) “Bitte, Gebet”; OFs. *bede* (Kluge 1989: 80) “Bitte, Gebet”; OE *bedu* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 37) “asking, prayer”; Gothic *bida* (Kluge 1989: 80) “Bitte, Gebet”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **bedō* (Kluge 1989: 80) “Bitte, Gebet”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, gi-, ir-, zuo-*

bettōn “Nachtlager zurecht machen, das Bett machen” (Raven II 1967: 16). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *beddian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 36) “to make a bed; provide one with a bed”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **badōjan* “to make a bed, provide with a bed”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *betti* (Kluge 1989: 80) “Bett”; OS *bed(di)* (Kluge 1989: 80) “Bett”; OFs. *bed* (Kluge 1989: 80) “bed, couch”; OE *bed, bedd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 36) “bed, couch, resting place”; ON *beðr* (Kluge 1989: 80) “Polster, Federbett; (poet. auch) Ufer, Strand”; Gothic *badi* (Kluge 1989: 80) “bed”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **badjan* “bed”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

bezzirōn “bessern, verbessern, büßen, entschädigen” (Raven II 1967: 16). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *beterian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 46) “to better, improve”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **batizōjan* “to better, make better”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bezziro* comp.adj. (Kluge 1989: 79) “besser”; OS *betara* comp.adj. (Kluge 1989: 79). OFs. *beter, betr* comp.adj. (Kluge 1989: 79). OE *betera* comp.adj. (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 46) “better”; ON *betri* comp.adj. (Kluge 1989: 79) “besser”; Gothic *batiza* comp.adj. (Kluge 1989: 79) “better”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc

**batizōn*, **batistaz*, **batiz* comp.adj. (Kluge 1989: 79) “besser”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb (formed from comparative degree).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

bi-ahitōn “nachdenkend erwägen” (Raven II 1967: 5). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bibēn “beben, wanken, schwanken, zittern, zucken” (Raven II 1967: 205). cf. OHG *bibinōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bibōn* II (Kluge 1989: 66) “beben”; OFs. *beva* I (Kluge 1989: 66) “beben”; OE *bifian* II (Kluge 1989: 66) “to tremble, be moved, shake, quake”; ON *bifa* (Kluge 1989: 66) “beben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **bibējanan* (Kluge 1989: 66) “to tremble (with fear), shiver”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It was probably originally a reduplicating present form, deriving ultimately from an IE $\sqrt{*bhōi-}$, $*bhōi-$ (Pfeifer I 1989: 136) “sich fürchten”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *bibheti* reduplicating (Pfeifer I 1989: 136). Skt *bhayate* (Kluge 1989: 67) “sich fürchten”; OCS *bojati se* (Kluge 1989: 67) “sich fürchten”; Lith. *bijótis* (Kluge 1989: 67) “sich fürchten”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

bibinōn “beben, zittern” (Raven II 1967: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **bibinōjan* (Kluge 1989: 66) “beben”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It probably represents an 'n'-extension variant form of the NWGmc class III weak verb **bibējanan* “beben, zittern” (for an etymology of which see under *bibēn*). As the class III verb belongs to an older stratum, **bibinōjan* is possibly best regarded as a class II deverbative from it. Therefore an OHG verb (n-extension), the derivational pattern of which unclear.

bi-birnen “ermuntern, aufrichten” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-blicken “glänzen, auf-, hervorleuchten, blitzen” (Raven I 1963: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-borgēn “sich kümmern um etwas, sich vorsehen, hüten vor etwas” (Raven II 1967: 207). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-bouhnen, *bi-bouhhanen* “zurückweisen” (Raven I 1963: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-breiten “anspritzen, hinzufügen, beimischen, besudeln, beschimpfen, verbrämen mit” (Raven I 1963: 13). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-brēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 35) “to spread, cover”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-brennen “verbrennen” (Raven I 1963: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-bringen “herbeiführen, bringen, vollbringen, hinbringen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: (*dara-*).

bi-būen, *bi-būwen* “ansässig bleiben” (Raven I 1963: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-decken “bedecken” (Raven I 1963: 24). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-peccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 46) “to cover, protect, cover over, conceal”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-dempfen “ersticken, mit ekelhaftem Rauch bedecken oder umhüllen, blenden, ertrinken, bedämpfen, vermessen” (Raven I 1963: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-denken “bedenken, überlegen” (Raven I 1963: 25). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-pencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 46) “to consider, bear in mind, remember, trust, confide, entrust, bethink”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-dennen “be-, erhalten, zurück-, festhalten” (Raven I 1963: 289). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-pennan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 46) “to cover, stretch on or upon, spread over”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-deppen “unterdrücken, niederdrücken, zurückdrängen, betäuben, einschläfern” (Raven I 1963: 289). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is a prefix formation from an otherwise unattested simplex which, in turn, may ultimately derive from an IE $\sqrt{*dabh-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “staunen, betreten, sprachlos sein; *vermutlich als geschlagen betroffen sein, aus einer Grundbedeutung schlagen*”, from which base the following may also be derived: MHG *be-teben* (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “hinfahren über, drücken”; MLG *be-debbert* (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “betreten, verlegen”; NHG *tappen* (Pokorny I 1956: 233). MDu. *dabben* (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “tappen, plätschen”; EastFs. *dafen* (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “schlagen, klopfen, stoßen”; MEngl. *dabben* (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “leise schlagen”; ON *dafla* (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “im Wasser plätschern”; Gothic *af-dobnan* (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “to become silent”; Lith. *dóbiu, dóbti* (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “zu Tode prügeln”; Latvian *dābiu, dābt* (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “schlagen”; Greek *ταφών* aorist 2nd participle (Pokorny I 1956: 233) “erstaunen”. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

biderben “nützen, befreien” (Raven I 1963: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *biderbi* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 51) “nützlich, brauchbar”; OHG *biderbī* subst. (Starck and Wells 1990: 51) “Vorteil, Ertrag, Brauchbarkeit”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival / denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

bi-dingen “zusammenführen, versammeln, mieten, pachten” (Raven I 1963: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-donarōn “bedonnern, losdonnern” (Raven II 1967: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-drangōn “bedrängen” (Raven II 1967: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-drōzzēn “ausdehnen, hervorziehen oder schleppen, offenbaren” (Raven I 1963: 30). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-drucken “drücken, pressen, unterdrücken, zusammendrücken, niederdrücken, hemmen” (Raven 1953: 31). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-pryccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 46) “to press on, impress”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-dūhen “pressen, drücken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-pȳn* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “to thrust”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-dunken “scheinen, bedünken” (Raven I 1963: 33). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-durnen “mit Dornen kränzen” (Raven I 1963: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *dorn* (Kluge 1989: 152) “Dorn”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-eiscōn “stehlen, d.h. listigerweise für sich gewinnen” (Raven II 1967: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-fangalōn “befangen, festnehmen, durch die innere Wahrheit einer Sache einnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **-fang(a)lōjan* class II deverbative formed with l-extension from strong verb **fanhanan* (Seebold 1970: 185) “fangen” (see under *fangōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with l-extension and prefix *bi-*).

bi-fantōn “verweigern, heruntersetzen” (Raven II 1967: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-feihnōn “betrügen” (Raven II 1967: 39). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-felgen “vorantragen, vorziehen, befreien, gerichtlich beanspruchen, zeigen” (Raven I 1963: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-fellen “niederstrecken, hinbreiten, wanken, färben, verführen”, unterdrücken, entkräften, verhüllen” (Raven I 1963: 38). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-fellian* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 725) “to fell”; OE *be-fellan*, *be-fyllan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 725) “to fell, strike down”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-festen “befestigen, bewahren” (Raven I 1963: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-fæstan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 764) “to fasten, make fast, fix; establish; commend, recommend, commit, entrust”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-festinōn “befestigen, verschanzen” (Raven II 1967: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-fillen “Prügel bekommen, geißeln, stoßen, schlagen” (Raven I 1963: 40). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-fīlōn “glatt feilen” (Raven II 1967: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-finsteren “verdunkeln, dunkel machen” (Raven I 1963: 40). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-fizusōn “jemanden ausbeuten oder ausnutzen lassen” (Raven II 1967: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-flīden “beunruhigen?, beklemmen?” (Raven I 1963: 293). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-folōn “befühlen, genießen, haben, Befriedigung finden” (Raven II 1967: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-forahten “befürchten” (Raven I 1963: 53). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

biforōn “besorgen, zurechtmachen, verwalten, Vorkehrungen treffen” (Raven II 1967: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bifora* adv (Starck and Wells 1990: 52) “zurück, rückwärts”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial verb.

bi-forscōn “abwägen, rechtfertigen” (Raven II 1967: 48). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-fullen “bedecken, verhüllen” (Raven I 1963: 45). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-fyllan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 38) “to fill, fill up”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-gaganen “geschehen, be-, entgegenen” (Raven I 1963: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-galōn “Zauber singen, bezaubern” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **-galōjan* (Seebold 1970: 212) class II deverbative from strong verb **galanan* (Seebold 1970: 212) “singen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *galan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 212) “singen, Zaubersprüche sprechen”; OE *galan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 147) “to sing, call, cry, scream, sing charms, practise incantation”; ON *gala* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 212) “singen (Zauberlieder); krächzen, schreien; bezaubern, besingen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-galstarōn “bezaubern” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-gartōn “erreichen, +dat. zuteil werden” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-gatōn “erreichen, zuteil werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-germinōn, *bi-karminōn* “behexen, bezaubern” (Raven II 1967: 52). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-gougalōn “bezaubern” (Raven II 1967: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-goumen “sehen, betrachten, versehen, sich in Acht nehmen” (Raven I 1963: 59). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-gēman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 38) “to look after, take care of; do service, attend; take heed, observe”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-grabōn “verrammeln” (Raven II 1967: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-greifōn “betasten, prüfen” (Raven II 1967: 57). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-grintilōn “sägen” (Raven II 1967: 57). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *grintil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 240) “Riegel, Stange, Querbalken”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-gruozen “rufen, heißen” (Raven I 1963: 61). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-grētan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 38) “to lament”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-gurten “begürten” (Raven I 1963: 62). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-gyrdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 38) “to begird, surround, fortify; to clothe”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **bi-**

bi-haben “behalten, sich die Ohren zuhalten, umfassen, umringen, kleiden, erwerben” (Raven I 1963: 302). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-habēn “halten, behalten, (in Bestand) erhalten, festhalten, (er)fassen, umfassen, umfassen, in der Gewalt haben, behaupten, erwerben, erachten, in Besitz nehmen, gewinnen” (Raven II 1967: 222). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-habban* III (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 38) “to include, hold, surround, comprehend, contain; detain, withhold”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-halbōn “einschließen, umgeben” (Raven II 1967: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *halba* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 249) “halb”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-halsen “umhalsen, umarmen” (Raven I 1963: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **umbi-**

bi-halsōn “(die Beute) umfassen, festhalten” (Raven II 1967: 61). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-hamalōn “schlachten, verstümmeln” (Raven II 1967: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-harēn “anrufen” (Raven II 1967: 226). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-heften “zu eigen geben, verkaufen, einnehmen, besetzen, sich bemächtigen, sammeln, versammeln, zusammenbringen, völlig besiegen, binden, fesseln, schuldig machen, verpflichten, verpfänden, schleudern, verrenken, martern, foltern” (Raven I 1963: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **in-**

biheizōn “verheizen, verschwören, (von Trompeten) schmettern, Mutwilligkeit, Prahlerei” (Raven II 1967: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *biheiz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 53) “Versprechen, Gelübde, Verschwörung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: **gi-**

bi-hellen “be-, umhüllen, verheimlichen, verbergen” (Raven I 1963: 304). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-hellian* I (Seebold 1970: 252) “verhüllen, einhüllen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-heriōn, bi-herrōn “plündern, verheeren, Sinnestriebe unterdrücken oder vertilgen” (Raven II 1967: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-herten “ausdauern, vergüten, befestigen, hart oder fest machen” (Raven I 1963: 70). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-huggen “denken an, bedenken, beachten, bemerken, sich entsinnen, +*reflex. pers. et gen. rei* = sich woran erinnern, meinen, sicher” (Raven I 1963: 305). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-hycgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 39) “to consider, bear in mind; confide, trust”

Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-hullen “behüllen, bedecken” (Raven I 1963: 77). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-hullian* I (Seebold 1970: 252) “verhüllen”; OFs. *bi-hella* I (Seebold 1970: 252) “verhüllen”; OE *be-hylian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 39) “to cover, veil”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-huohōn “verspotten, auslachen, verhöhnen” (Raven II 1967: 70). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-huorōn “entehren, schänden, notzüchtigen, zum Weibe machen = Sodomie treiben” (Raven II 1967: 70). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-huoten “behüten, beachten, beobachten, für etwas sorgen” (Raven I 1963: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*

bi-in-sigilen “besiegeln” (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-kennen “bekennen, kennen, erkennen” (Raven I 1963: 84). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*

bi-kēren “(sich) bekehren, wenden, kehren, lenken, richten, biegen” (Raven I 1963: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dana-, hintarot-, nidar-, widar-*

bi-kimbōn, bi-kimbō “Leichen betreffend, Leichenbegängnis, altgermanische Ausdrücke wohl von der Bezeichnung der Totenhügel und Grabstätten” (Raven II 1967: 75). No cognate verbs are attested. Although evidence is slight, a nominal base OHG **kimb-* “Grabstatt, Grabmal, Grabhügel”, or similar, can be reconstructed for this verb from the following: OHG *einkimbi* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 121) “verderblich, totbringend”; ON *kumbl* (de Vries 1962: 333) “Grabmal; Helmzeichen, Helm”; Run.Dan *kuml* (de Vries 1962: 333) “Grabzeichen (sowohl Runenstein wie Grabhügel)”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-klagōn “klagen über” (Raven II 1967: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-kleiben “einprägen, fest einschließen, mit etwas überladen, bestreichen, beschmieren, verbinden, anspannen, vereinigen (verschlammen, binden, fesseln)” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-kleimen “beflecken, besudeln, entweihen, vergiften, verderben” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-klemmen “verstopfen, klemmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 335). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *klam, klamm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 333) “Klemme”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-knāen “verstehen, merken, verspüren, wahrnehmen, entnehmen, er-, einsehen, erkennen, kennenlernen, gelten lassen, erkannt, bekannt werden, sich erinnern, etwas zukünftiges beherzigen, erwägen, bedenken, eingedenk sein, sich etwas wieder gegenwärtigen, anerkennen, befriedigen, sich rechtfertigen, zufriedenstellen, überzeugen, sich entschuldigen, wieder zu Verstande kommen, erblicken, erleben, überlegen, bedenken, ermitteln, etwas im Auge haben, beabsichtigen, erstreben, besehen, einsehen” (Raven I 1963: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-knupfen “knüpfen, anknüpfen, verknüpfen, flechten, binden, fesseln, von unten anknüpfen, anbinden oder befestigen” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-knussen “verletzen, zerdrücken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 339). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

bi-korōn “beweisen, prüfen, versuchen, beschweren” (Raven II 1967: 79). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-kōsōn “mitteilen, darlegen, der Angeklagte (oder dem Gerichte verfallen) sein, tadeln” (Raven II 1967: 81). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-kūmen “beklagen” (Raven I 1963: 98). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-kurzen “kurz machen, verkürzen, abkürzen, kurz fassen, kurz aussprechen” (Raven I 1963: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-kwicken “beleben” (Raven I 1963: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-langēn “(impers. +acc pers et gen. rei) verlangen (nach), gelüsten, lang dünken oder langweilig sein” (Raven II 1967: 233). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-leggen “belegen, benetzen, hinlegen, legend bedecken, (die) Ohren verstopfen, d.h. nicht hören wollen, mit Essen beschlagen” (Raven I 1963: 310). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-lecgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 40) “to cover, invest, surround, afflict; charge with, accuse”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-(h)leinen “verdammen” (Raven I 1963: 102). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-hlānan* I (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 80) “to beset by leaning anything against another”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-leiten “bedecken, überziehen, (Gevölk) sammeln, umgeben, verhüllen, gegen etwas führen, geleiten, das Geleit geben, begleiten, verfolgen” (Raven I 1963: 103). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-lædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 40) “to lead astray”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-lemmen “lähmen, unbeholfen machen” (Raven I 1963: 313). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

biliden “vormachen, als Beispiel erzählen” (Schützeichel 1969 p.15). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bilidi* (Kluge 1989: 84) “Bild(werk), Darstellung; Vorstellung, Begriff, Urbild; Abbild, Ebenbild; Mal; Beispiel,

Gleichnis, Vorbild; Gestalt, Beschaffenheit, Aussehen, Form, Wesen; Figur". Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

bi-ligizzen "Gewalt antun, bewältigen, verunreinigen" (Raven I 1963: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **bi-legatjan* class I intensive deverbative from OHG strong verb *bi-liggan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 374) "vergewaltigen, notzüchtigen, beschlafen". Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

bi-līhhēn "mißfallen" (Raven II 1967: 236). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bilidōn "bilden, nachbilden, formen, gestalten, zeichnen, vorzeichnen, nachahmen, das Abbild oder Vorbild eines Dinges darstellen, [polieren], hassen, heucheln, bezichtigen (?) = jemanden verdächtigen" (Raven II 1967: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *bilden*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *fora-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

bi-listinōn "teilweise aufheben oder einschränken, vermindern, herabsetzen, verunglimpfen, verleumden" (Raven II 1967: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *list* (Starck and Wells 1990: 380) "Kunst, List". Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *bi-* and n-extension).

bi-liuhten "beleuchten, hervorleuchten, -glänzen, erstrahlen" (Raven I 1963: 112). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-(h)liuten "erschallen" (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

**billōn* "mit einem Steinhau oder Streitaxt schlagen, behauen, schärfen (Mühlstein)". MHG *billen* (Lexer I 1872: 276) "mit einem Steinhau schlagen, behauen, schärfen (Mühlstein)". No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *billi* (Schützeichel 1969: 16) "Schwert, Streitaxt, Steinhacke, Spitzhacke". cf. OE *bill* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 48) "bill, chopper, battle-axe, falchion, sword". Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*

bilōn "äußern, aussprechen" (Raven II 1967: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *bil* (Schade I 1882: 63) "bellende Stimme". Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

bi-lōsen "entlösen, befreien, berauben, enthaupten, entblößen, ausziehen, verwitwen, leer oder frei machen" (Raven I 1963: 115). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-mahalōn "anklagen" (Raven II 1967: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-mahhōn "verbinden, vereinigen, zusammenfügen" (Raven II 1967: 96). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-marcōn "bestimmen, passend machen" (Raven II 1967: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-meinen “weihen, widmen, heiligen, opfern, urteilen, verurteilen, entscheiden, preisgeben, zu eigen geben, überlassen, (im voraus) bestimmen, beschließen, beimessen, verloben, förmlich versprechen, erwägen, zuschreiben, schildern, zum Opfer bestimmen, zum Tode weihen, durchbilden” (Raven I 1963: 125). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-mānan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 40) “to bemoan, bewail, lament”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*, *zuo-*

bi-merken “bezeichnen, bestimmen, anordnen, ernennen” (Raven I 1963: 127). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-merren “hemmen, in Schranken halten, zuziehen, zuschnüren, außer Kraft setzen, hemmen, hindern” (Raven I 1963: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-murmulōn “murren” (Raven II 1967: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-nahtēn “nächtigen” (Raven II 1967: 245). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-namōn “mit namen anreden” (Raven II 1967: 108). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-neimen “bestimmen, erteilen, vorausbestimmen, ernennen” (Raven I 1963: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*

bi-necken “herausfordern, reizen, nacken” (Raven I 1963: 137, 314). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-nemnen “nennen, ernennen, sagen” (Raven I 1963: 138). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-nemnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 41) “to name; stipulate, settle, declare, asseverate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-nezzen¹ “benetzen, färben, tränken, abspülen, besudeln” (Raven I 1963: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-nezzen² “verstricken, im Netz fangen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 437). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nezzi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 437) “Netz”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-nidaren “einem zu niedrig sein” (Raven I 1963: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-(h)nicken “bedecken, verbergen, übertölpeln” (Raven I 1963: 141). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-niusen “erkennen, etwas erkunden, (aus)finden, entdecken, erfassen, anlernen, erfahren, forschen, fragen, wahrnehmen, erlangen” (Raven I 1963: 142). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-rahhanen “rauben, erbeuten” (Raven I 1963: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-rapfen “(von Wunden) wieder blutig werden oder wieder aufbrechen, ausgetrocknet oder verkrustet, verharshen, vernarben” (Raven I 1963: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-rāsen “sich die Verurteilung zuziehen, verdammen” (Raven I 1963: 147). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-rāsan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 43) “to rush upon or into”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-rebezzen “vor Wut oder Unwillen mit den Zähnen knirschen, knirschend in die Worte ausbrechen, toben, wüten” (Raven I 1963: 148). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **bi-rabatjan* “wüten”. Etymology uncertain. Probably an intensive deverbative but source is uncertain. Possibly from a strong verb attested in MHG *reben* (Pokorny I 1956: 853) “sich bewegen, rühren”. This is not, however, convincing on semantic grounds”.

bi-redinōn “überführen” (Raven II 1967: 118). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-refsen “tadeln, schelten, rügen, Vorwürfe machen, zurechtweisen” (Raven I 1963: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-reganōn “beregnen, Regen empfangen, bescheren” (Raven II 1967: 118). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-reifen “einschnüren, einwickeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 478). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-reiten “bereiten, aufführen” (Raven I 1963: 7). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *be-rēden* (Kluge 1989: 75) “bereiten”; MDu *be-reiden*, *be-reden* (Kluge 1989: 75) “bereiten”; OFs. *bi-rēda* (de Vries 1962: 186) “bereiten”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-renken “verrenken” (Raven I 1963: 152). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-wrencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 47) “to deceive”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-renten “mit einem Rand versehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 481). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rant* (Starck and Wells 1990: 472) “Schildbuckel, Schildrand, Rand”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-resten “festhalten, versperren, (be)hindern” (Raven I 1963: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

birīgōn “fruchtbar machen” (Schade I 1882: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *birīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 58) “fruchtbar, befruchtend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

bi-rihten “sich richtig zu etwas einstellen, bedenken, überlegen, vollführen, in die gehörige Richtung bringen” (Raven I 1963: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-rinden “schälen” (Raven I 1963: 157). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-rindan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 43) “to strip off bark, peel”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bi-rendijan* “to peel, strip of bark”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rinda* (Kluge 1989: 601) “Rinde, Borke”; OS *rinda* (Kluge 1989:

601) “Rinde”; OE *rind(e)* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 283) “rind, bark, outside”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **rendōn* (Kluge 1989: 601) “Rinde”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-(h)riuwōn “beklagen, Schmerz empfinden über” (Raven II 1967: 122). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

birnen “harmonieren, erheben, trösten” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

bi-roubōn “(+acc. pers. et gen rei.) berauben, (Gewänder) abnehmen, ausplündern” (Raven II 1967: 123). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-rēafian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 43) “to bereave, deprive of, take away, seize, rob, despoil”; Gothic *bi-raubōn* II (Kluge 1989: 584) “ausziehen”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

bi-roufen “enthaaren, d.h. die Haare und Haut abreiben = wund reiben, rupfen” (Raven I 1963: 159). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-rōpian* I (Kluge 1989: 584) “verfilzen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-runnen “ins Fallen bringen” (Raven I 1963: 162). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *run* (Starck and Wells 1990: 496) “Lauf, Bahn”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-(h)ruofen “berufen, zusammenrufen” (Raven I 1963: 163). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-ruohhen “Sorge tragen für, Rücksicht nehmen auf, sein Bestes im Auge haben (reflex.), zurückstellen, nachsetzen” (Raven I 1963: 164). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-reccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 43) “to relate; excuse or justify oneself”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-(h)ruomen “sich berühren, sich über jemanden freuen” (Raven I 1963: 165). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-(h)ruoren “berühren, anrühren, bewegen, anregen, stacheln” (Raven I 1963: 165). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sagen “übersetzen” (Raven I 1963: 318). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sagēn “angeben, bezeugen, verklagen, verstricken” (Raven II 1967: 250). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-secgan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 44) “to announce, introduce; defend, excuse oneself; accuse”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-salbōn “mit Salbe bestreichen” (Raven II 1967: 125). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-seganōn “beseugen, mit dem Zeichen des Kreuzes Weihend bezeichnend” (Raven II 1967: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-seidōn “sich verstricken” (Raven II 1967: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *seid* (Starck and Wells 1990: 512) “Strick, Fallstrick, Saite”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-singōn “sengen” (Raven II 1967: 130). cf. OHG *sengen* I. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

bi-seiten “zurückweisen, verschmähen, ablehnen” (Raven I 1963: 168). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

bāsen “biesen, lustig sein” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bāsa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 58) “Sturmwind, Nordostwind”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

bi-sengen “besengen, versengen, an-, verbrennen” (Raven I 1963: 168). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-sengian* I (Onions 1966: 829) “besengen”; OE *be-sengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 44) “to singe, burn”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-sezzan “besetzen, belegen, einsetzen, bedecken, pflanzen, (sein Haus) bestellen bzw. ordnen, warnen, überwachen” (Raven I 1963: 173). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 173) “to put, place, set near, appoint, own, keep, occupy; beset, cover, surround with, adorn; besiege, invest”; Gothic *bi-satjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 296) “to set around”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

bi-sigilen “be-, versiegeln, kundtun, kennzeichnen” (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-siuwen “einnähen, bezogen, benäht, Kahn mit Leder überzogener Schild” (Raven I 1963: 320). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-sēowian* levelling to class II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 44) “to sew together, sew up”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-scaffōn “bilden, schildern, unterrichten” (Raven II 1967: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-scarōn “bescharen” (Raven II 1967: 132). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-scatawen “beschirmen, verdunkeln, decken, verhüllen, nächtigen” (Raven I 1963: 178). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-scēad(uw)ian* probably class II by levelling from class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 44) “to overshadow”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-skenten “vergehen, untergehen, umkommen, sterben” (Raven I 1963: 180). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-skerien “bescheren, zuteilen, verhängen; betrügen, zum besten halten, [‘seines Anteils berauben’, enterben]” (Raven I 1963: 321). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-skīben “beanlagen, passend einrichten” (Raven I 1963: 181). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-skilben “auf einem Brettergerüst oder einer Hürde tragen” (Raven I 1963: 181). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Possibly a denominative formation (with voicing of final ‘f’) from a noun related to those attested in: MLG *schelf* (Barnhardt 1988: 996) “shelf”; MDu *scelf* (Barnhardt 1988: 996) “haystack”; OE *scylfe*, *scilfe* (Barnhardt 1988: 996) “shelf, ledge, floor”.

bi-skinden “beschinden, enthäuten, schälen, abschälen” (Raven I 1963: 182). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-skindian* I (Kluge 1989: 633) “sich abschälen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-skirmen “beschirmen, beschützen, in Eifer geraten, verteidigen, (von oben) angreifen, decken” (Raven I 1963: 182). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-scouwōn “ansehen, sich umsehen, betrachten, besuchen, berücksichtigen, warten” (Raven II 1967: 135). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-scēawian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 44) “to look round upon, survey, contemplate, consider, watch; care for”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-screnken “fangen, überlisten, nörgeln, hinabstürmen” (Raven I 1963: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-screnkilen “mit Nägeln oder mit Spitzen oder Dornen oder (*übtr.*) mit einem Purpurstreifen versehen, festnageln” (Raven I 1963: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **skranklijan* class I frequentative or diminutive deverbative (formed with l-extension) from WGmc weak verb **skrankijan*, **skrankōjan* “verschränken” (see under *screnken*, and *screncōn*). Therefore an OHG frequentative deverbative (formed with l-extension and prefix *bi-*).

bi-scrimen “in Eifer geraten” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Glosses Latin *zelāri* “to be jealous, show zeal”.

bi-scutten “(das Haupthaar) versengen, verbrennen” (Raven I 1963: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sleifen “zu Boden strecken, zu Grunde richten” (Raven I 1963: 190). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-slihten “Überschwemmung, Sintflut” (Raven I 1963: 191). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-slipfen “gleiten, fallen, sich zerstreuen, verlassen, abfliegen, sich aus dem Staube machen, wanken machen, wanken” (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-smāhēn “(+dat.) *pers.* geringschätzen, strafbar sein, verächtlich sein oder scheinen, mißachtet werden” (Raven II 1967: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *smāhi* (Kluge 1989: 641) “klein, gering, verächtlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bismarōn “lästern, verspotten” (Raven II 1967: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *bismerien*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

bi-smeizen “beschmutzen” (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **bi-smaitejan* (Seebold 1970: 438) deverbative formation from strong verb **bi-smeitanan* (Seebold 1970: 437) “schmießen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bi-smēzzan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 564) “aufstreichen, schmieren, bestreichen, salben; beflecken, besudeln, entweihen, anstecken”; OS *-smān* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 437) “schmeißen”; OFs. *smāa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 437) “schmeißen, werfen”; OE *smān* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 311) “to daub, smear, soil, pollute, defile”; Gothic *ga-smeitan* st. vb (Lehmann 1986: 72) “to annoint”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

bismerēn “verhöhnern, spotten, herausfordern” (Raven II 1967: 206). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *bismerien*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

bismerien “verlachen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bismer* (Starck and Wells 1990: 59) “Verhöhnung, Spott, Schimpf”; OHG *bismar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 59) “Spiel, Spott”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

bismerōn “lästern, schmähen, verspotten, erbittern” (Raven II 1967: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *bismerien*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

bi-smidōn “(mit geziemendem Erz) einfassen oder umgeben” (Raven II 1967: 139). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-smiðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 44) “to work (in metal), forge, surround with forged work”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-smirwen “beschmieren” (Raven I 1963: 322). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-smierwan*, *be-smirwan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 44) “to besmear”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-smizzen “beschmitzen, bestreichen” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-solagōn “besudeln, verunreinigen” (Raven II 1967: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-solōn “besudeln, beschmutzen” (Raven II 1967: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sorgēn “(trs.) ehren, achtgeben, Sorge oder Fürsorge tragen für, Auftrag ausführen, pflegen, fürchten, befürchten, sorgen für, verhüten” (Raven II 1967: 257). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-sorgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 45) “to regret; be anxious about, dread, shrink from”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-soufen “ersäufen, ertränken, ertrinken, nach unten schleifen, begraben, fortreiben” (Raven I 1963: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *nāht-*

bi-spehōn “auskundschaften, erkunden” (Raven II 1967: 141). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-spennen “entwöhnen” (Raven I 1963: 322). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sperren “verschließen, zumachen, behindern, sichern, verwerfen, verdammen” (Raven I 1963: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *in-*

bi-spottōn “verspotten” (Raven II 1967: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sprāhōn “vermessene Reden ausstoßen, beeinträchtigen, schmälern, verwerfen, schmähen, verleumden” (Raven II 1967: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sprāten “hineingießen, übergießen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 579). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably a prefix formation from an earlier unattested simplex verb **sprāljan*. This, in turn, a dental extension from IE $\sqrt{*}(s)pher-$, **sprei*, **spreu-* (Pokorny I 1956: 993) “streuen, säen; sprengen, spritzen, sprühen”, from which base the following may be derived: OHG *sprēzan* st. vb < **sprei-d-* (Pokorny I 1956: 994) “spritzen, in Stücke splittern”; ON *spræna* (Pokorny I 1956: 994) “spritzen”; MHG *spræwen*, *spræjen* (Pokorny I 1956: 994) “stieben, sprühen”; Norw., Dan. *spraaes* (Pokorny I 1956: 993) “spröde, brüchig werden”; OLith. *sprainas* (Pokorny I 1956: 994) “steif, starr, übersichtig, vom Auge”; Mlr. *sreb* (Pokorny I 1956: 993) “Strom”; Greek *σπείρω* (Pokorny I 1956: 993) “ich streue, säe, spreng, spritze, sprühe”; Arm. *parat* (Pokorny I 1956: 993) “zerstreut”; OHG *spirt* (Pokorny I 1956: 993) “das Spritzen, Sprühen” is best regarded as post verbal. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sprehhōn “verleumden, raunen” (Raven II 1967: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-spreiten “überwachsen, ganz bedecken, umschließen” (Raven I 1963: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sprengen “begießen, bespritzen = entzündigen, beflecken = schänden” (Raven I 1963: 197). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-sprengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 45) “to besprinkle, bespatter”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-spurnen “fehlen, verfehlen, beleidigen, kränken, anstoßen” (Raven I 1963: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-stabōn “beeiden, klar zeigen” (Raven II 1967: 145). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-stāten “aufstellen, einsetzen, festsetzen, formen, beständig machen, bestätigen” (Raven I 1963: 200). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-statōn “verpachten” (Raven II 1967: 146). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-stecken “hineinstecken” (Raven I 1963: 201). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-stellen “besetzen, bestellen” (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-stiften “begründen, bewohnen” (Raven I 1963: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-stiuften “verwaist, beraubt” (Raven I 1963: 205). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-stouben “bestäuben” (Raven I 1963: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-stricken “bestriicken, zusammenknüpfen, schnüren” (Raven I 1963: 209). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-stumbalen “verstümmeln” (Raven I 1963: 211). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-stumbalōn “verstümmeln, abhauen, auseinanderreißen, töten” (Raven II 1967: 150). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sturen “umkehren, umwerfen” (Raven I 1963: 212). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-styrian* II by levelling, as umlaut indicates origin in class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 45) “to heap up, bestir”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-sturzen “umstürzen, umstülpen, umwerfen, verkehren, zerstören, mit einem Deckel versehen” (Raven I 1963: 212). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sūftōn “beseufzen” (Raven II 1967: 151). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-sulen “lästig finden, besudeln, verunreinigen, bestreichen” (Raven I 1963: 213). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-sylian* II by levelling, as umlaut indicates origin in class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 334) “to sully, defile, stain”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-suohhen “prüfen, prüfend durchsuchen, untersuchen, heimsuchen” (Raven I 1963: 215). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-sēcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 44) “to beseech, beg urgently”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-suonen “(sich) versöhnen, besühnen, entscheiden” (Raven I 1963: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-swāren “beschweren, Beschwerde verursachen, säen, steigern, beschwerlich machen” (Raven I 1963: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-swārōn “bedrücken, beschweren, trauern” (Raven II 1967: 152). cf. OHG *swāren* I. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

bi-swebēn “hervorzucken, hervorstrahlen, glänzen” (Raven II 1967: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-swellen “erschöpfen, ringsum einschließen” (Raven I 1963: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-swertōn “verschwören” (Raven II 1967: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *swert* (Raven II 1967: 153) “Schwur”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *bi-*).

bi-swerzen “schwärzen, schwarz machen” (Raven I 1963: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-tarnen “ratlos oder erbittert, betrübt sein” (Raven I 1963: 222). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-tarnōn “bestürzt sein, betrübt sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 622). cf. OHG *tarnen* I. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

bi-teilen “berauben (+gen. rei), entziehen, konfiszieren, prellen, betrügen, täuschen, beschwindeln, hintergehen” (Raven I 1963: 222). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-dǣlan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 36) “to deprive, strip, bereave of, rob, release, free from”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-temmen “sich einer Sachen bemächtigen, ergreifen, erfassen” (Raven I 1963: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-timbarēn “trübe werden” (Raven II 1967: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-timberen “trüben, trübe machen” (Raven I 1963: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. For simplex see OHG *timberēn* I “dunkeln, dunkel werden”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

bi-touben “vermessen” (Raven I 1963: 226). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-trāgēn “verleiden, überdrüssig werden” (Raven II 1967: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-trahten “mehr vermögen, das Übergewicht oder den Vorrang haben” (Raven I 1963: 227). No cognate verbs are attested. For simplex verb see: OHG *trahtōn* II “betrachten, erstreben”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class I).

bi-trahtōn “überlegen, betrachten, (intrans.) wonach trachten, erwägen, bedenken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 632). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-trehhanēn “(vom Feuer) in der Weißgrauen Ascheglut erlöschen” (Raven II 1967: 264). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-trohsilen “beflecken, verunreinigen, entehren” (Raven I 1963: 229). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

bi-troufen “sich benetzen, besudeln” (Raven I 1963: 230). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-drȳpan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 37) “to moisten”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-truoben “jemandem ein Bein stellen = ihm den Sturz bereiten, verurteilen” (Raven I 1963: 231). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bittaren “mürrisch oder bitter sein; der Nase ein Entsetzen bereiten, verbittern” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *bittarōn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

bittarōn “sich ärgern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 61). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *biterian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 50) “to embitter, make bitter”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bitrōjan* “to embitter, make bitter or angry”. The verb is derived from the

following nominal base: OHG *bittar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 61) “bitter, scharf, abweisend”; OS *bittar* (Kluge 1989: 88) “bitter”; OE *biter* (Kluge 1989: 88) “bitter, sharp, cutting; stinging; exasperated, angry, embittered; painful, disastrous, virulent, cruel”; ON *bitr* (Kluge 1989: 88) “bitter”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **bitraz* (Kluge 1989: 88) “bitter”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

bi-tuhhen “unterstützen” (Raven I 1963: 326). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

bi-tullen “einen Teil zurückbehalten, unterschlagen, des Genusses verlustig gehen” (Raven I 1963: 326). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **tul* “coarse, rude, animal-like, given to pleasure” which can be reconstructed from MHG *tul* (Lexer II 1876: 1564) “grob”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

bi-tumbalen “unverständlich oder sinnlos machen, zur Torheit bringen, schwächen” (Raven I 1963: 232). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-dumbilian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 641) “betören, abstumpfen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bi-dumb(a)ljan* “sich albern benehmen”, class I frequentative or diminutive deverbative formed with l-extension from the following complex of weak verbs: OHG *tumbōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 641) “sich albern benehmen, unsinnig handeln”; OHG *tumbēn* III (Raven II 1967: 265) “sich albern benehmen, unsinnig handeln”. Therefore a WGmc frequentative deverbative (formed with l-extension and prefix *bi-*).

bi-tumben, bi-tumpen “vermessen, in Erstaunung setzen, schwachsinnig oder rasend machen” (Raven I 1963: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. For simplex verb see: OHG *tumbōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 641) “sich albern benehmen, unsinnig handeln”; OHG *tumbēn* III (Raven II 1967: 265) “sich albern benehmen, unsinnig handeln”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class I).

bi-tūmilōn “bestürzen, verwirren” (Raven II 1967: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-tummen “einen Gewinn erhalten, übervorteilen, durch Schmeichelei überlisten, hintergehen” (Raven I 1963: 233). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-tuncalen “verdunkeln, dunkel oder trübe machen, glanzlos machen, abstumpfen, die Sehkraft verlieren” (Raven I 1963: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-tuomen “richten, im voraus beurteilen” (Raven I 1963: 233). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *bi-domjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 93) “to judge, criticize, condemn”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

bi-tussen “in Vermessenheit bei einer Sache bleiben; töricht” (Raven I 1963: 326). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology obscure. It is possibly a prefix formation from an otherwise unattested simplex belonging to a Gmc complex which can ultimately be derived from the IE $\sqrt{*dheues-}$, $*dhuēs-$, $*dheus$, $*dhus-$ (Pokorny I 1956: 268) “stieben, stäuben, wirbeln (nebeln, regnen, Dunst, Staub; aufs seelische Gebiet angewendet: gestorben, verwirrt sein, betäubt, dösing, albern), stürmen (vom Wind und aufgeregtem Wesen), blasen, wehen, heuchen, keuchen (Hauch, Atem, Geist, Gespenst, animal; riechen, Geruch)”, from which base the following may be derived: OHG *tūsig* (Pokorny I 1956: 270) “stumpfsinnig, töricht”; MHG *tūsen* (Pokorny I 1956: 270) “lärmen, sausen”; NHG (dial) *dusen* (Pokorny I 1956: 270) “zechen”; OE *dysig* (Pokorny I 1956: 269) “foolish, ignorant, stupid”. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

bi-unkūsen “entehren, verderben, beflecken, unkeusch machen” (Raven I 1963: 241). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-unreinen, bi-unhreinen “verunreinigen, (participle adj. = schmächtig)” (Raven I 1963: 242). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-uoben “tun, verüben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 680). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-unsūbaren “verunreinigen, (passive) unrein werden” (Raven I 1963: 243). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-walgōn, bi-walagōn “(am Boden im eigenen Blut) herumwälzen” (Raven II 1967: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-wancōn “ausweichen, entbehren, umgehen, unterlassen, vermeiden” (Raven II 1967: 172). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-wānen “hoffen, glauben, meinen, vermuten, argwöhnen, (reflex. +gen.) sich einer Sache vermuten, (reflex.) etwas von sich denken, (+acc.) einen in Verdacht haben” (Raven I 1963: 249). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-wantalōn “umgestalten, verwandeln, verschlechtern” (Raven II 1967: 173). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-wāren “anerkennen, beweisen, erproben, als wirklich oder wahr dartun, [besorgen]” (Raven I 1963: 250). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-warōn “fürsorglich bewahren, behüten, (+gen.) bewahren gegen, schützen, für etwas sorgen, besorgen, in Obhut haben” (Raven II 1967: 175). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-warian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 47) “to keep watch, guard, preserve, ward off”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-wartēn “aufnehmen, (einzeln) ansehen, scheuen, verehren, ausweichen, vermeiden, entgehen, auf der Haut sein, sich hüten” (Raven II 1967: 270). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-weardian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 47) “to guard, protect, observe closely”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-wegen “ziehen, ins wanken geraten, sich zum Mitleid bewegen” (Raven I 1963: 328). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-weidinōn “das Honigsaugen beziehungsweise -sammeln von Bienen” (Raven II 1967: 178). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-weinōn “weinen über, beweinen, als tot oder unter Tränen beklagen, mit Tränen benetzen” (Raven II 1967: 178). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-(h)welben “wölben (mit zwei Halbkugeln überwölbt oder eingezäunt ?)” (Raven I 1963: 254). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-welbian* I (Kluge 1989: 798) “überwölben, bedecken”; OE *be-hwylfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 39) “to cover, vault over”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-welzen “zudecken, (wälzend) bedecken, verstecken” (Raven I 1963: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-wemmen “beflecken, verderben” (Raven I 1963: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-wenken “umgehen, vermeiden” (Raven I 1963: 256). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-wenten “an-, ab-, hin-, um-, verwenden, (sich) wenden, umkehren, verwandeln, gestalten, in eine Beschaffenheit versetzen, beenden” (Raven I 1963: 256). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-wendian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 710) “verwandeln, wiederholen”; OE *be-wendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 47) “to turn (round); convert”; Gothic *bi-wandjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 393) “to avoid”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: (*dara-*), (*umbi-*).

bi(h)werben “abwenden, ablenken” (Raven I 1963: 259). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-hwyrfan*, *be-whyrfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 39) “to turn, change, convert; exchange; prepare, instruct”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*bi-werēn*² “aufbewahren, überwachen, erhalten” (Raven II 1967: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*bi-werien*¹ “abhalten von etwas, hindern, verhindern, schützen, wehren, verteidigen, verbieten” (Raven I 1963: 332). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-werian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 47) “to guard, protect, defend, check, prevent, forbid”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-winnēn “(ab)weiden” (Raven II 1967: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-w̄zinōn “strafen, strafbar sein” (Raven II 1967: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-wurgen “würgen, ersticken (machen)” (Raven I 1963: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-wurken “herbeischaffen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 750). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-wyrcean* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 47) “to work, construct, surround with, enclose, cover; work in, insert, adorn”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-zeihhanen “bezeichnen, ausdrücken, als Zeichen dienen für, ein Vorzeichen bedeuten, bildlich oder symbolisch vorstellen” (Raven I 1963: 272). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-tācan* I (<*be-tācnan by loss of 'n') (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 45) “to impart, deliver, intrust; dedicate; show, point out; give orders; persue, hunt”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*bi-zeinen*¹ “bezeichnen, an-, bedeuten, befehlen, zuweisen” (Raven I 1963: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-zeinōn “andeuten, bedeuten, bezeichnen” (Raven II 1967: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-zellen “bezählen, hinzuzählen, aufzählen, zu eigen geben, anschuldigen, bezichtigen” (Raven I 1963: 275). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-tellan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 45) “to speak about, answer, defend oneself (against a charge), exculpate oneself”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-zetten “bestreuen, überragen” (Raven 1963: 333). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-zieren “sorgfältig zieren, schmücken” (Raven I 1963: 278). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-zimbaren “aufbauen” (Raven I 1963: 278). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-timbran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 46) “to construct, build”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

bi-zimbarōn “davorbauen, versperren, verbauen” (Raven II 1967: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-zoubarōn “bezaubern, behexen, Zaubertank” (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bi-zūnen “umzäunen, bezäunen, mit einem Zaun umgeben” (Raven I 1963: 281). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-tynan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 46) “to hedge in, enclose, shut, bury; shut out; end”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *umbi-*

bi-zusken “verbrennen” (Raven I 1963: 283). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

bizzōn “mit den Zähnen knirschen, (prägnant) zerknirschen, zermalmen” (Raven II 1967: 19). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *grist-bitian* II (Seebold 1970: 97) “to gnash the teeth, rage”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bitōjan* (Seebold 1970: 97) class II zero grade deverbative from strong verb **beitanan* (Seebold 1970: 96) “beißen” (see under *beizen*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

blabbezen “stammeln, plappern, schwatzen, lallen” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **blabbatjan* “plappern”, intensive deverbative from weak verb **blab(b)jan* “plappern”. This attested in MHG *plappen*, *blappen* (Pokorny I 1956: 102) “plappern”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

blabizōn “plappern” (Pokorny I 1956: 102). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **blabatōjan* “plappern” (see under *blabbezen*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

blāen “wehen, atmen” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **blējan* (Seebold 1970: 118) class I weak deverbative from strong verb **blēanan* (Seebold 1970: 117) “blasen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *zi-blāen* st. vb pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 117) “aufgeschwollen”; OFs. *on-blē* st. vb pret. sg. (Seebold 1970: 117) “hauchte ein”; OE *blāwan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 117) “to blow, breathe; play an instrument”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, gi-, ir-, zi-*

blahmālōn “mit eingegrabener Arbeit verziert” (Raven II 1967: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *blahmāl* (Starck and Wells 1990: 63) “Federstickerei; Brokat”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

blāzen “blöken” (Raven I 1963: 9). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *blāetan* I (Pokorny I 1959: 154) “to bleat”; ModDu. *blaten* (Kluge 1989: 93) “to bleat”, which allows us

to reconstruct a WGmc **blājan* “to bleat”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is a dental extension from an IE $\sqrt{*bhl̥}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 154) “heulen, laut weinen, blöken”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *blejām, bhlejati* (Pokorny I 1959: 154) “blöken”; Latin *flēre* (Pokorny I 1959: 154) “(be)weinen”; OCS *bleju, blejati* (Pokorny I 1959: 154) “blöken”; Latvian *blēju, blā* (Pokorny I 1959: 154) “blöken”; None of the IE forms given above are formed with a dental extension. The extension must therefore be reckoned a WGmc innovation, in which case the verb cannot be seen as pre-Gmc. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

bleihhēn “blaß sein oder werden, erbleichen, roh oder ungekocht” (Raven II 1967: 206). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *blācian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 50) “to turn pale”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **blaikējan* “to turn or become pale”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bleih* (Starck and Wells 1990: 65) “blaß, gelblich, weiß”; OS *blēk* (Kluge 1989: 91) “bleich, blaß”; OE *blāc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 50) “bright, shining, glittering, flashing; pale, palid, wan”; ON *bleikr* (Kluge 1989: 91) “bleich”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **blaikaz* (Kluge 1989: 91) “gelblich, glänzend”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

blecken “leuchten, blecken, glänzen, blinken” (Raven I 1963: 9). We can therefore reconstruct a **blikkējan* intensive gemination and probably originally class III (Seebold 1970: 119) “aufblitzen lassen”, zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **bleikanan* (Seebold 1970: 118) “schimmern”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bi-blīhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 118) “erstrahlen”; OS *blīkan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 118) “glänzen”; OFs. *blīka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 118) “sichtbar sein”; OE *blīcan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 51) “to glitter, shine, gleam, sparkle, dazzle; appear”; ON *blikja* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 118) “glänzen, funkeln”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

bleckezen “glänzen, blinken” (Raven I 1963: 9). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *bliccettan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 52) “to glitter, quiver, sparkle, shine”, which allows us to reconstruct a **blikkatjan* intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 119) zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **bleikanan* (Seebold 1970: 118) “schimmern” (see under *blecken*). Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

blenden “blenden” (Raven I 1963: 9). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *blenda* I (Kluge 1989: 92) “to blind”; OE *blendan* I (Kluge 1989: 92) “to blind, deprive of sight, darken”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **blandijan* with expressive ablaut? (Kluge 1989: 92) “to blind, make blind”. The phonology of this verb is difficult. It appears to derive from the the Gmc adjective **blindaz* “blind” (this from an earlier **blendaz*) with an expressive ablaut variation of ‘e’ to ‘a’. This explanation is not entirely convincing as such expressive ablaut variations do not normally occur in deadjectival verbs. In the absence of more convincing arguments, it is, however, the most satisfactory. The nominal base is attested in: OHG *blint* (Starck and Wells 1990: 66) “blind”; OS *blind* (Kluge 1989: 92) “blind”; OFs. *blind* (Kluge 1989: 92) “blind”; OE *blind* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 52) “blind, dark, obscure, opaque; unintelligent”; ON *blindr* (Kluge 1989: 92) “blind”; Got *blinds* (Kluge 1989: 92) “blind”. For examples of deadjectival verbs formed from **blindaz* without expressive ablaut, compare the following verbs: OHG *blintēn* III (Raven II 1967: 206) “blind werden”; OE *ā-blindan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 1) “to make blind”; ON *blinda* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 187) “to blind, make blind”; Gothic *ga-blindjan* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 187) “to blind”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb (formed with medial vocalic change of ‘e’ to ‘a’).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-, ir-*

blesten “klatschen” (Raven I 1963: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Possibly onomatopoeic.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *gi-*, *in-gi-*, *ir-*

blīden “sich freuen” (Raven I 1963: 10). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *blīða* I (de Vries 1962: 44) “freundlich machen”; ODan. *blida* (de Vries 1962: 44) “streicheln, liebkosten”; Gothic *bleiþjan* I (de Vries 1962, p.44) “to take pity”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **blīþ(j)ijanan* “to rejoice, be glad”. cf. OS *blīhōn*, *blīðōn* II (de Vries 1962: 44) “to rejoice”; cf. OE *ge-blīðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 54) “to make glad”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *blīdi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 66) “freudig, froh, heiter, lustig, freundlich”; OS *blīdi* (Onions 1966: 100) “happy, cheerful”; OFs. *blīde* (Onions 1966: 100) “happy, cheerful”; OE *blīðe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 52) “blithe, joyous, happy, merry, cheerful, glad, pleasant; gracious, well-disposed, friendly, kind; agreeable, willing; quiet, peaceful, gentle”; ON *blīðr* (Lehmann 1986: 75) “happy, friendly, loving”; Gothic *bleiþs* (Lehmann 1986: 75) “merciful”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **blīþjaz*, **blīþiz* “joyous, cheerful”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

blicken “blicken, blitzen” (Raven I 1963: 10). The following cognate verbs are attested: We can therefore reconstruct a Gmc **blikkjan* intensive gemination (Seebold 1970: 119) “aufblitzen lassen”, intensive deverbative from strong verb **bleikanan* (Seebold 1970: 118) “schimmern” (see under *blecken*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*, *nidar-*

blintēn “blind werden” (Raven II 1967: 206). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-blindian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 1) “to become blind”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **blindējan* (this from an earlier **blendējan*) “to be or become blind”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *blenden*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

blinterezzēn “erblinden” (Raven I 1963: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. The ‘r’ is difficult to explain here. That the verb is derived from *blintiro* the comparative of OHG *blint* is not a satisfactory explanation on semantic grounds. Probably the most suitable explanation would be to derive the verb from an otherwise unattested OHG **blintirōn* or **blintiren* “to blind” formed with an r-extension. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

blitihhen “blinzeln, triefäugig sein, zucken” (Raven I 1963: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

blōden “entkräften, entmutigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 67). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *blōðian* I (Heyne 1905: 189) “furchtsam oder verzagt machen”; ON *bleyða* I (Zoëga 1910: 58) “to dishearten, humble”; Gothic *blauþjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 75) “to make void”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **blauþijanan* “to make fearful, timid or weak”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *blōdī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 67) “lässig, träge, zaghaft”; OS *blōði* (Lehmann 1986: 75) “bashful”; OE *blāð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 51) “gentle, shy, cowardly, timid; slothful, inactive, effeminate”; ON *blauðr* (Zoëga 1910: 57) “weak, timorous”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **blauþaz*, **blauþjaz* (Kluge 1989: 93) “schwach, zaghaft”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

blōdēn “verzagen” (Raven II 1967: 206). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *blōden*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

bluhhen “brennen, lodern, glänzen, verzehrt oder gequält werden” (Raven I 1963: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **bluhhjan* “brennen, glänzend brennen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to derive from the ablaut zero-grade of IE $\sqrt{*bhleu-k-}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 159) “brennen”. This is an extension from the IE $\sqrt{*bhel-}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 118) “glänzen, glänzend weiß”, from which base the following may also be derived: MHG *bliehen* (Pokorny I 1959: 160) “brennend leuchten”; OE *blyscan* I (<**bleu-s-*) (Pokorny I 1959: 159) “to blush”; ON *blys* (<**bleu-s-*) (Pokorny I 1959: 159) “Flamme”; Greek περι-πεφλευσμένος πυρί (<**bleu-s-*) (Pokorny I 1959: 159) “vom Feuer umlodert”. The guttural extension with which this verb is formed is only attested in OHG, and is therefore to be regarded as an OHG innovation. The verb cannot, therefore, be considered pre-Gmc. Instead it may represent a zero-grade deverbative from a normal grade source verb. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-, ir-*

bluhisōn, blugisōn “wanken, zweifeln, unsicher, unentschlossen oder zaghaft sein” (Raven II 1967: 20). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **bluc, *blug, *bluh* “unsicher, verlegen, unentschlossen, zaghaft”, can be reconstructed from: MHG *bluc* (schade I 1882: 77) “verschmäh, verlegen, betreten, unentschlossen, bedenklich, zaghaft”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

blunkezzen “stammeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably an intensive deverbative from an unattested source.

bluoēn “blühen, glänzen, brennen” (Raven I 1963: 11). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *blōian* I (Kluge 1989: 93) “blühen”; OFs. *blōia* I (Seebold 1970: 122) “blühen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **blōjan* (Seebold 1970: 122) “blühen”, weak deverbative from strong verb **blōanan* (Seebold 1970: 122) “blühen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *blōwan* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 93) “to blossom, bloom”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-, gi-, ir-*

bluomen “blühen” (Raven I 1963: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *bluomōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

bluomōn “blühen, mit Blumen bestecken, Blumen pflücken” (Raven II 1967: 20). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *blōma* II (de Vries 1962: 45) “blühen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **blōmōjanan* “to bloom”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bluoma, bluomo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 67) “Blume, Blüte, Knospe”; OS *blōmo* (Kluge 1989: 94) “Blume”; OFs. *blām* (Kluge 1989: 94) “Blume”; ON *blóm* (Kluge 1989: 94) “Blume”; Gothic *blōma* (Kluge 1989: 94) “flower”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **blōmōn* (Kluge 1989: 94) “Blume”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

bluoten “bluten” (Raven I 1963: 11). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *blēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 51) “to bleed, let blood”; OFs. *blēda* I (de Vries 1962: 46) “bluten”; ON *blæða* I (de Vries 1962: 46) “bluten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **blōðijanan* “to bleed, cause to bleed”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bluot* (Starck and Wells 1990: 68) “Blut”; OS *blōd* (Kluge 1989: 94) “blood”; OFs. *blōd* (Kluge 1989: 94) “blood”; OE *blōd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 52) “blood; vein”; ON *blóð* (Kluge 1989: 94) “blood”; Gothic *blōþ* (Kluge 1989: 94) “blood”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **blōdan* (Kluge 1989: 94) “Blut”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

bluotīgōn, bluotagōn “blutig schlagen, mit Blut (die Waffen) färben, mit der Mutter Blut (die Hände) nassen” (Raven II 1967: 20). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *blōdgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 52) “to be bloodthirsty, make bloody”; ON *blóðga* II (de Vries 1962: 440) “blutig machen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **blōð(a)gōjanan* “to make bloody”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bluotīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 68) “blutig”; OS *blōdag* (de Vries 1962: 45) “blutig”; OFs. *blōdich* (de Vries 1962: 45) “blutig”; OE *blōdig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 52) “bloody”; ON *blóðugr* (de Vries 1962: 45) “blutig”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **blōð(a)gaz* “bloody”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

bluozen “opfern, schöpfen” (Raven I 1963: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **blōtjan* “opfern”, weak deverbative from strong verb **blōtan* (Seebold 1970: 122) “(einen Gott) verehren”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bluozen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 123) “opfern, verehren”; OE *blōtan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 123) “to sacrifice, kill for a sacrifice”; ON *blóta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 122) “opfern, verehren, verfluchen, durch Opfer verehren, mordern”; Gothic *blōtan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 122) “to serve God; honour (through sacrifice)”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

bogēn “gebückt oder gekrümmt sein” (Raven II 1967: 206). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **bugējan* (Seebold 1970: 111), durative deadjectival formation from **buganaz* adjectival preterite participle of strong verb **beuganan* (Seebold 1970: 110) “biegen” (see under *bougen*). Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

bolōn “wälzen, werfen, rollen, schleudern” (Raven II 1967: 20). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bolla* (Starck and Wells 1990: 69) “Wasserblase, Becher, Kugelförmiger Körper”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ubar-*, *zi-*

bolezzēn “zucken, stoßweise atmen” (Raven I 1963: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably an intensive deverbative from an unattested source.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**bōren* “erheben, erhöhen”. MHG *bæren* (Lexer I 1872: 327) “erheben”. No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Most likely with lengthening of vowel from OHG *bor* (Starck and Wells 1990: 69) “Höhe, Spitze, Gipfel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

borgēn “(+gen.) sich hüten vor etwas, sich in Sicherheit wovor bringen, etwas in acht nehmen, schonen, Schonung üben, verschont sein, sich um etwas kümmern, sich vorsehen, entlehnen, Zahlung erlassen, Rücksicht nehmen auf, borgen, Mangel haben an” (Raven II 1967: 206). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *borgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 54) “to borrow, lend; act as surety for”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **burgējan* (Seebold 1970: 107), class III zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **berganan* (Seebold 1970: 107) “bergen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bergan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 107) “bergen, verbergen, verstecken”; OS *gibarg* st. vb pret. indic. (Seebold 1970: 107) “bewahrte”; OE *beorgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 106) “to save, deliver, preserve, guard, defend, spare”; ON *biarga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 106) “bergen, retten”; Gothic *baorgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 106) “bewahren”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

borōn “bohren, aushöhlen” (Raven II 1967: 21). cf. OHG *berren* I (Raven I 1963: 285). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *borōn* II (Kluge 1989: 96). OE *borian* II (Kluge 1989: 96) “to bore, perforate”; ON *bora* II (Kluge 1989: 96) “bohren”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **burōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 96) “bohren”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut zero-grade of IE $\sqrt{*bher-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 133) “mit einem scharfen Werkzeug bearbeiten, ritzen, scheiden, reiben, spalten” (see under *berren*). These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*

bāsōn “Gott lästern, böse Wörter sprechen, Unsinn machen, Possen treiben” (Raven II 1967: 21). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bāsi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 70) “albern, schwach, schweige”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*

bougen “drehen, biegen, foltern” (Raven I 1963: 11). cf. OHG *bogēn* III (Raven II 1967: 206). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bōgian* I (Seebold 1970: 111) “beugen”; OFs. *beia* I (Seebold 1970: 111). OE *bīegan*, *bȳgan* I (Seebold 1970: 111) “to bend, turn, turn back, incline; depress, abase, humiliate; subject; persuade, convert”; ON *beygja* I (Seebold 1970: 111) “beugen, biegen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **baugejanan* (Seebold 1970: 111), causative deverbative from strong verb **beuganan* (Seebold 1970: 110) “biegen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *biogan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 110) “biegen, beugen”; MLG *būgen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 110) “sich neigen”; OE *būgan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 60) “to bow (down), bend, stoop”; ON *bogenn* st. vb pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 110) “sich biegen”; Gothic *biugan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 110) “beugen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, gi-, umbi-, widar-*

bouhnen, bouhhanen “winken, nicken, bestätigen, abwinken, ablehnen, versprechen, bejahen, bestimmen” (Raven I 1963: 12). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bōknian* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1294) “bezeichnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bauknijan* “ein Zeichen machen”. cf. OE *bēacnian* II (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1294) “to beckon, nod; show, indicate”; cf. ON *bákna* II loan verb from WGmc, or independant denominative formation (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1294) “ein Zeichen machen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bouhhan* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1294) “Zeichen, Nicken, Wink, Fahne”; OS *bōkan* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1294) “Zeichen”; OE *bēacen* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1294) “beacon, sign, token; phenomenon, portent, apparition; banner, standard; audible signal”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bauknan* (Kluge 1989: 55) “Zeichen”. cf. ON *bákn* loan word from WGmc (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1294) “Zeichen, Bake”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, gi-, in-, int-, zuo-*

bōzen “stoßen, schlagen” (Raven I 1963: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **bautjan* “stoßen, schlagen”, class I weak deverbative from strong verb **bautanan* (Seebold 1970: 90) “schlagen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bōzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 90) “stoßen, schlagen”; OE *bēatan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 90) “to beat, strike, lash, dash, hurt; tread, trample, tramp”; ON *bauta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 90) “schlagen, erschlagen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

brāhhen “prägen, meißeln, aufzeichnen” (Raven I 1963: 12). cf. OHG *brehhōn* II (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **brēkjan* (Seebold

1970: 133) “prägen”, class I deverbative from strong verb **brekanan* (Seebold 1970: 132) “brechen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *brehhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 132) “brechen, zerbrechen, teilen, öffnen”; OS *brekan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 132) “brechen, zerbrechen, zerreißen”; OFs. *breka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 132) “brechen, verwirken, reißen; gebrechen, fehlen”; OE *brecan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 132) “to break, shatter, burst, tear; curtail, injure, violate, destroy, oppress; storm, capture; press, force; subdue, tame”; Gothic *brikan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 132) “kämpfen, brechen, zerstören”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

brāhhōn “brachen, den Boden nach der Ernte umbrechen, den Acker furchen” (Raven II 1967: 21). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-brākōn* (Schade I 1882: 82). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **brēkōjan* “brachen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *brāhha* (Kluge 1989: 100) “unbestelltes Land, Umbrechen des Bodens”; MLG, MDu *brāke* (Kluge 1989: 100). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **brēkō* (Kluge 1989: 100) “Brache”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

brahten “tönen, tosen, brüllen” (Raven I 1963: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *braht* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1311) “Lärm, Geschrei, Getöse, Zusammenklang vieler Stimmen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *widar-*

brastōn “ertönen, dröhnen, krachen, prasseln” (Raven II 1967: 21). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *brasta* II (de Vries 1962: 54) “lärmen, prahlen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **brastōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 139) “krachen”, class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from strong verb **brestanan* / **berstanan* (Seebold 1970: 139) “bersten” (see under *bresten*). Therefore a NWGmc frequentative / continuative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*

bredigōn, predigōn “predigen, lehren, durch Predigen belehren, verkündigen, predigend lehren oder vortragen” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *praedicāre* (Kluge 1989: 561) “öffentlich verkünden”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*

brehhōn “plagen” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **brekōjan* (Seebold 1970: 133) class II deverbative from strong verb **brekanan* (Seebold 1970: 132) “brechen” (see under *brāhhen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, gi-ana-*

brehtisōn “dumpf tosen, toben, jauchzen” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *braht* (Kluge 1989: 558) “Lärm, Geschrei”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with s-extension).

breiten “verbreiten, säen” (Raven I 1963: 13). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bredian* I (Holthausen 1967: 9) “breiten, sich ausbreiten”; OE *brēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 55) “to make broad, broaden, spread, extend, widen”; ON *breiða* I (de Vries 1962: 55) “ausbreiten, bedecken”; Got *braidjan* (Lehmann 1986: 79) “to spread out”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **braidijanan* “to make broad, broaden, spread out”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *breit* (Starck and Wells 1990: 75) “breit, weit, flach, ausgedehnt, groß”; OS *brēd* (Kluge 1989: 104) “breit”; OFs. *brēd, breid* (Kluge 1989: 104) “breit”; OE *brād* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 55) “broad, flat, open, extended, spacious, wide; ample, copious”; ON *breiðr* (Kluge 1989: 104) “breit”; Gothic *braiþs* (Kluge 1989: 104)

“broad”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **braiðaz* (Kluge 1989: 104) “breit”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fora-*, *fram-*, *gi-*, *umbi-*, *zi-*

breitēn “hervorragen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 75). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *breiten*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

bremen “brummen” (Raven 1963: 286). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *bremman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 56) “to rage, roar”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bramejan* (Seebold 1970: 135) “to roar, rage”, deverbative from strong verb **bremanan* (Seebold 1970: 135) “to roar”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bremen* st. vb (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1352) “brummen, brüllen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

bringen “bringen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 76). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *brenġian* I (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen”; OFs. *brendza* I (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen”; OE *brenġan* I (Seebold 1970: 136) “to bring, produce”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brangejan* (Seebold 1970: 136) deverbative from Gmc **brenġanan* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen”. This verb attested in the following: OHG *bringan* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen, hervorbringen, tragen, zuführen”; OS *bringan* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen”; OFs. *bringa* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen”; OE *bringan* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “to bring, lead, bring forth, carry, adduce, produce, present, offer”; Gothic *briggan* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *fora-*, *fort-*, *samane-*, *ūz-*

brennen “brennen, verbrennen” (Raven I 1963: 14). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *brennian* I (Holthausen 1967: 10) “verbrennen”; OFs. *berna* I (Seebold 1970: 137) “verbrennen”; OE *baernan* I (Seebold 1970: 137) “to cause to burn, kindle, light, set on fire, burn (up)”; ON *brenna* I (Seebold 1970: 137) “verbrennen”; Gothic *ga-brannjan* I (Seebold 1970: 137) “to burn”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **brannejanan* (Seebold 1970: 137) “to cause to burn”, causative deverbative from strong verb **brennanan* (Seebold 1970: 137) “brennen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *brinnan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 137) “brennen, glühen”; OS *brinnan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 137) “brennen”; OFs. *burna* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 137) “brennen”; OE *beornan*, *biernan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 42, 48) “to burn, be on fire, give light”; ON *brenna* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 137) “brennen, verbrennen”; Gothic *brinnan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 137) “brennen”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ana-gi-*, *bi-*, *fir-*, *int-*, *zuo-*

bresten “unverträglich oder widrig machen” (Raven I 1963: 15). cf. OHG *brastōn* II (Raven II 1967: 21). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **brastejan* (Seebold 1970: 139) deverbative formation from strong verb **brestanan* / **berstanan* (Seebold 1970: 139) “bersten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *brestan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 139) “bersten”; OS *brestan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 139) “bersten, krachen”; OFs. *bersta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 139) “bersten, gebrechen, fallen”; OE *berstan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 43) “to burst, break”; ON *bresta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 139) “zerspringen, zerbrechen, krachen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

bretōn “töten, totschiagen, niederstrecken” (Raven II 1967: 22). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *breodwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 56) “to strike down, trample?”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bredwōjan* “to strike down, trample, kill”. Further etymology unclear.

brieven “aufzeichnen, buchen, konfiszieren” (Raven I 1963: 15). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *brief* (Starck and Wells 1990: 77) “Brief; Schreiben, Blatt, Papier; Urkunde; Verzeichnis”. < Latin *breve* (Kluge 1989: 104) “kurzes Schreiben”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*, *missi-*

bringen “(strong present, weak preterite with ablaut) bringen, hervorbringen, zuführen, tragen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 77) The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bringan* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen”; OFs. *bringa* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen”; OE *bringan* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “to bring, lead, bring forth, carry, adduce, produce, present, offer”; Gothic *briggan* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **brenganan* strong pres., weak pret. with ablaut (Seebold 1970: 136) “bringen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*bhrenk-}$, $*bhronk-$ (Pokorny I 1959: 168) “bringen”, from which base the following may be also derived: Welsh *he-bwng* (Pokorny I 1959: 168) “bringen, gleiten, führen”; OComish *hebrechiat* (Pokorny I 1959: 168) “leader; dux”; Toch.A, Toch.B *prānk-* (Pokorny I 1959: 168) “entfernen, sich zurückziehen”. According to Seebold (Seebold 1970: 137), these forms are regarded as a root contamination of $\sqrt{*bher-}$ “tragen” (> OHG *beran* st. vb (Buck 1949: 707); OS *beran* st. vb (Buck 1949: 707); OE *beran* st. vb (Buck 1949: 707); ON *bera* st. vb (Buck 1949: 707); Gothic *bairan* st. vb (Buck 1949: 707); Greek $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ (Buck 1949: 707); Latin *ferre* (Buck 1949: 707); OIr. *biru*, *berim* (Buck 1949: 707); OCS *bera*, *birati* (Buck 1949: 707); Lithuanian *berti* (Buck 1949: 707); Albanian *bie* (Buck 1949: 707); Armenian *berem* (Buck 1949: 707); Sanskrit *barati* (Buck 1949: 707); Avestan *bar-* (Buck 1949: 707); Toch.A, Toch.B *pār* (Buck 1949: 707)) and $\sqrt{*e)nek-}$ “erreichen” (> Greek $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ aorist (Bammesberger 1986: 82) “herbeischaffen”, Skt *aśnoti* (Bammesberger 1986: 82) “gelangt, erreicht”, Lithuanian *nėšti* (Bammesberger 1986: 82) “tragen, bringen”). This theory of root contamination is supported by the fact that Greek $\epsilon\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ is a suppletive aorist for Greek $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ “ich trage”. The IE parallels given above provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *abur-*, *ana-gi-*, *bi-*, *dara-*, *(dara-)bi-*, *dara-zuo-*, *duruh-*, *[eban-]*, *folla-*, *fora-*, *fort-*, *fram-*, *furi-*, *in-*, *ingagan-*, *nidar-*, *sama-*, *umbi-*, *untar-*, *ūz-*, *widar-*, *zisamene-*, *zuo-*

brohhisōn “brechen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **brukisōjan* “brechen”, class II ablaut zero-grade deverbative formed with s-extension from strong verb **brekanan* (Seebold 1970: 132) “brechen” (see under *brāhhen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with s-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

brohhōn “zerbröckeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 79). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *brocian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 57) “to crush, hurt, afflict, molest”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brukōjan* (Seebold 1970: 133) “to break to pieces, crush”, class II ablaut zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **brekanan* (Seebold 1970: 132) “brechen” (see under *brāhhen*). Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

brortōn “sticken, weben, verweben, mit geziertem Saum versehen” (Raven II 1967: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *brort* (Starck and Wells 1990: 79) “Rand, Kante, Einfassung, Vordersteven”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *untar-*

brūhhen “brauchen, benutzen” (Raven I 1963: 19). This verb is most likely a weak form of OHG strong verb *brūhhan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 80) “brauchen, genießen, ein Amt ausüben”.

The strong verb **brūkanan* (Seebold 1970: 140) “brauchen” is attested in the following: OS *brūkan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 140) “genießen, sich erfreuen”; OFs. *brūka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 140) “brauchen”; OE *brūcan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 58) “to use, enjoy, possess, partake of, spend; eat, drink”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: (*eban-*), *fīr-*, *gi-*, *missi-*

bruckōn, *bruggōn* “eine Brücke bilden oder schlagen” (Raven II 1967: 23). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *brycgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 58) “to bridge, make a causeway, pave”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brugjōjan* “to bridge, make or build a bridge”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *brugga* (Kluge 1989: 108) “Brücke”; OS *bruggia* (Kluge 1989: 108) “Brücke”; OFs. *brigge* (Kluge 1989: 108) “Brücke”; OE *brycg* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 58) “bridge”; ON *bryggja* (Kluge 1989: 108) “Landbrücke, Landesteg”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **brugjō* (Kluge 1989: 108) “Brücke”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

brūnen “(dunkelrot, pupurfärbig) färben” (Raven I 1963: 20). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *brūn* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1435) “braun, dunkel, braunviolett, schwarzbraun”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

bruoen* “brühen, verbrennen, durch Feuer vernichten”. MHG *brüezen*, *brüen* (Kluge 1989: 109) “brühen, sengen, brennen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *broien*, *brogen* (Kluge 1989: 109) “brühen, kochen, brüten”; MDu. *broeien* (Kluge 1989: 109) “sengen, Brühen, brüten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brō(w)jan* (Kluge 1989: 109) “brühen, brüten, sengen, brennen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*bhrē-}$, **bhrō-* (Pfeifer I 1989: 221) “heiß aufwallen, wärmen, brennen; heiß machen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *brōd* (Pokorny I 1959: 133) “brood; foetus; breeding, hatching”; OHG *brātan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1959: 133) “braten, rösten”. This represents a variant of IE $\sqrt{*bher-}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 132) “aufwallen (von quellendem oder siedendem Wasser, auch vom Aufbrausen beim Gähren, kochen, sowie vom Feuer), sich heftig bewegen”, from which base the following may be derived: Skt *bhurati* (Pokorny I 1959: 132) “bewegt sich, zuckt, zappelt”; Greek *πορφύρω* (Pokorny I 1959: 132) “ich walle auf, woge auf, bin in unruhiger Bewegung”; Latin *fremmentum* (Pokorny I 1959: 132) “Gärungssstoff, Sauerteig”; Latin *fretus*, *fretum* (Pokorny I 1959: 132) “Wallung des Meeres; Brausen, Wallen, Hitze”; OIr. *topur* (<to-uks-boro*) (Pokorny I 1959: 132) “Quelle”; Mlr. *fobar* (Pokorny I 1959: 132) “Quelle, unterirdischer Bach”. The forms given above are too diverse phonologically to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*

bruogen “schrecken, erschrecken” (Raven I 1963: 20). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *brēgan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1451) “to alarm, frighten, terrify”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brōgijan* “to frighten, terrify”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bruogo* (Schützeichel 1969: 22) “Schrecken”; OE *brōga* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1451) “prodigy, monster, trembling fear, terror, horror, dread”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brōgan* “fear, horror, dread, danger”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

bruoten “brüten, wärmen” (Raven I 1963: 20). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *brēdan* I (Kluge 1989: 110) “to produce or cherish a brood”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brōdejan* “brüten, wärmen”, class I deverbative formation from strong verb **brēðanan* (Seebold 1970: 128) “wärmen, braten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *brātan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 129) “braten”; OFs. *brāda* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 128) “braten”; OE

brædan st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 55) “to roast, toast, bake, broil, cook, warm”; OSwed. *bráðinn* st. vb pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 128) “geschmolzen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

**brurten* “Anlaß zu etwas geben, anfangen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *bryrdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 262) “to urge on, encourage, incite”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brurdijan* “(originally) to prick; (later) to incite, urge on”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *brort* (Starck and Wells 1990: 79) “Rand, Kante, Einfassung, Vordersteven”; OE *brord* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 58) “prick, point; blade (of grass, corn); herbage”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brurdaz* “prick, point”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

brustbintalōn “mit der Brustbinde umgürten” (Raven II 1967: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *brustbinta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 82) “Brustbinde”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with l-extension).

brūten “heiraten” (Raven I 1963: 20). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *brūden* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1465) “to co-habit with a woman”; MDu. *bruden* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1465) “to co-habit with a woman”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brūdijan* “to marry, take a bride”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *brūt* (Kluge 1989: 103) “Braut, junge Frau; Schwiegertochter”; OS *brūd* (Kluge 1989: 103) “Braut”; OFs. *breid* (Kluge 1989: 103) “Braut”; OE *brȳd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 59) “bride, betrothed, woman to be married, newly-married woman, wife, consort; young woman”; ON *brúðr* (Kluge 1989: 103) “beloved, wife, woman”; Gothic *bruþs* (Kluge 1989: 103) “newly-married young woman”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **brūðiz* (Kluge 1989: 103) “daughter-in-law; young woman on wedding day, newly-married woman, bride”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

brutten “erschrecken” (Raven I 1963: 20). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-bryddan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1471) “to frighten, terrify”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **brugdjan* “to frighten, terrify”, class I deverbative (from preterite?) of Class III strong verb **bregðanan* (Seebold 1970: 129) “zücken”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *brettan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 130) “ziehen, zücken (Schwert)”; OS *brugdum* st. vb pret. pl. (Seebold 1970: 130) “knüpften (die Netze)”; OFs. *breida* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 130) “zücken, ziehen”; OE *bregdan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 56) “to move quickly, pull, shake, swing, throw, draw (sword), drag; bend, weave, braid, knit, join together; change colour, vary, be transformed; bind, knot”; ON *brégða* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 129) “zücken, zucken, werfen, schwingen; abweichen, abändern; brechen, aufhören, erwachen; umwickeln”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-, gi-, ir-, int-, widar-*

buhhilōn “sich (wie der Mond) hornförmig krümmen, einen Buckel machen” (Raven II 1967: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *buhil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 83) “Bühel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

bullōn “durchtönen, brüllen, dröhnen, (übtr.) die Kriegsfahnen vorrücken lassen” (Raven II 1967: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **bullōjan* “brüllen”, possibly a zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **bellanan* (Seebold 1970: 101) “bellen” (see under *bellōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

buosumen “bogenartig krümmen, biegen, winden, schlängeln” (Raven I 1963: 21). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bōsmian* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1508) “biegen”; MDu. *boesemen* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1508). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **bōsmijan* “ausbuchten, biegen”. The verb is derived from the following

nominal base: OHG *buosum* (Starck and Wells 1990: 85) “Busen, Schoß, Bausch des Gewandes”; OS *bāsom* (Kluge 1989: 116) “Busen”; OFs. *bāsem* (Kluge 1989: 116) “Busen”; OE *bōs(u)m* (Kluge 1989: 116) “bosom, breast, womb; surface; ship's hold”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bōsmaz* (Kluge 1989: 116) “Busen”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *in-gi-*, *ūz-*

buosumōn “ausbuchten, erweitern” (Raven II 1967: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *buosumen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ūz-*

buozzen “sühnen, büßen, abhelfen, bessern, wiederherstellen, putzen” (Raven I 1963: 21). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bōtian* I (Kluge 1989: 117) “büßen”; OFs. *bēta* I (Kluge 1989: 117) “büßen”; OE *bētan* I (Kluge 1989: 117) “to make better, improve, amend, restore; remedy, compensate”; ON *bæta* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968:1511). Gothic *botjan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1511) “nützen, bessern”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **bōtijanan* “(originally) to improve, make better, repair; (later) to repent, atone for”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *buoza* (Starck and Wells 1990: 85) “Buße, Strafe, Besserung, Umkehr, Genugtuung, Preis”; OS *bōta* (Kluge 1989: 116) “Buße”; OFs. *bōte* (Kluge 1989: 116) “Buße”; OE *bōt* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 54) “reparation, compensation, recompense, correction, repentance”; ON *bót* (Kluge 1989: 116) “Besserung, Ersatz, Buße”; Gothic *bota* (Kluge 1989: 116) “usefulness, profit”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **bōtō* (Kluge 1989: 116) “(originally) improvement, correction, reparation; (later) repentance, atonement”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *folla-*, *gi-*

burdinōn “beladen, belasten mit” (Schade I 1882: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *burdin*, *burdī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 86) “Bürde, Last, Bündel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

burgōn “eine Stadt gründen” (Raven II 1967: 24). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *burg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 86) “Burg, Stadt, Schloß”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

burlīhhōn “erheben, erhaben” (Raven II 1967: 24). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *burlīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 87) “hervorragend, vortrefflich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

burren, *burien* “an-, auf, hoch-, erheben, in die höhen heben oder halten, instande setzen, fortsetzen, stärker werden, keimen, abfahren, entstehen” (Raven 1963: 286). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-burian* I (Holthausen 1967: 11) “Sorge tragen, sich gehören”; OFs. *bera* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1542). OE *byrian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 62) “to happen, pertain to, belong to, befit”; ON *byrja* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1542) “zu Wege bringen, anfangen, (eigentlich) aufheben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **burejanan* “beginnen, sich ereignen, zutragen”, zero-grade causative deverbative from strong verb **beranan* (Seebold 1970: 104) “tragen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *beran* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 104) “gebären, hervorbringen”; OS *beran* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 104) “tragen, hervorbringen, besitzen”; OFs. *bera* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 104) “tragen, gebären”; ON *bera* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 104) “tragen, bringen, emporheben; beschenken; gebären; überwältigen”; Gothic *bairan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 104) “tragen, leiden, gebären”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *ubar-*, *ūf-*, *ūf-ir-*

būen, būwen “wohnen, bewohnen, (feuer) bauen, bebauen, sich aufhalten, Ackerbau treiben” (Raven I 1963: 23). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *būan* I (Seebold 1970: 125) “wohnen, bleiben”; OFs. *būwa* I (Seebold 1970: 125) “wohnen”; OE (Northumbrian) *bya* I (Seebold 1970: 125) “wohnen, besitzen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **bōwwjan* (Seebold 1970: 125) “wohnen”, class I weak deverbative from reduplicating strong verb **bōwwanan* (Seebold 1970: 124) “wohnen, bereiten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *būan* strong pres. and pret. part., weak pret. (Seebold 1970: 125) “to live, inhabit”; ON *búa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 125) “weilen, wohnen, bereiten; Hauswesen gründen, schmücken; bewohnen”; Gothic *bauan* strong pres., weak class III preterite (Seebold 1970: 124) “wohnen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

D

dagēn “(+gen.) schweigen, (+dat.) ruhig zuhören” (Raven II 1967: 207). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thagian* I (Lehmann 1986: 353) “to be silent”; OS *thagōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 353) “schweigen”; ON *þegja* I, III (Lehmann 1986: 353) “schweigen”; Gothic *þahan* III (Lehmann 1986: 353) “to keep secret, be silent, behave quietly”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þagējanan* “to be or remain silent”. The precise derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*tak-ē}$, **tak-yo-* Gmc and Italic only (Lehmann 1986: 353) “to be silent”, from which base the following may also be derived: Latin *tacēre* (Lehmann 1986: 353) “to be silent”; Umbrian *tases*, *taçez* preterite participle (Lehmann 1986: 353) “silent(ly), in a murmur”. These IE parallels (although confined to Italic) are sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*

dahhezzen “aufflammen, lodern, das Auffliegen der Flammen” (Raven I 1963: 23). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **þahatjan* “aufflammen”, intensive deverbative from from a weak verb **þahjan* “to burn” which is represented by OE *þeccan* I (Pokorny I 1956: 1057) “to burn, consume, swallow up”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

dana-bi-kēren “abwenden, abkehren, ablenken, entfremden” (Raven I 1963: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-fluhten “vertreiben” (Raven I 1963: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-fuoren “forttreiben, vertreiben, verseuchen” (Raven I 1963: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-gi-scricken “(sich) beeilen, eilig beschaffen” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-ir-kēren “entfernen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 327). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-kēren “abwenden, abkehren, ablenken, vertreiben, entwenden, unterschlagen, (ver)meiden, ausweichen, lenken, richten, drehen, umdrehen, wegdrehen, verrenken” (Raven I 1963: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-leiten “daherführen” (Raven I 1963: 104). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-roufen “ausraufen, Haar ausrufen” (Raven I 1963: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-scricken “hervorspringen, (sich) beeilen” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-welzen “wegholen, wegwälzen” (Raven I 1963: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-wenten “sich wegwenden, von dannen gehen” (Raven I 1963: 257). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dana-zogōn “entziehen, wegnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

danc-fazzōn “nachdenken, überlegen, erwägen” (Raven II 1967: 24). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *danc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 90) “Dank, Gunst, Gnade; das Gedenken, Gedanke, Erinnerung”; cf. OHG *fazzōn* II “laden, zurechtmachen, bepacken”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

dancōn “Glück wünschen, danken, vergelten” (Raven II 1967: 24). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thankōn* II (Onions 1966: 914) “danken”; OE *þancian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 355) “to thank, give thanks to; to recompense, reward, rejoice”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þankōjan* “to thank”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *danc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 90) “Dank, Gunst, Gnade”; OS *thank* (Kluge 1989: 127) “Dank, Gunst, Gnade”; OE *þanc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 355) “thought, reflection; sentiment, idea; mind, will; grace, mercy, favour, pardon; thanks, gratitude; pleasure, satisfaction”; ON *þokk* (Kluge 1989: 127) “Dank, Lohn, Freude”; Gothic *þagks* (Kluge 1989: 127) “thanks, care”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þankaz* (Kluge 1989: 127) “Dank”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

dansōn “ziehen, schleppen, zögern, auf etwas warten lassen, dehnen” (Raven II 1967: 25). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **þansōjan* (Seebold 1970: 514) “ziehen, schleppen”, class II deverbative from strong verb **þensanan* (Seebold 1970: 514) “ziehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *dinsan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 514) “ziehen, schleppen”; OS *fer-thinsan* present only (Seebold 1970: 514) “wegreißen”; Gothic *at-þinsan* nur präs (Seebold 1970: 514) “heranziehen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zi-*

dara-aba-kēren “ab-, davon, weglenken” (Raven I 1963: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(dara)-bi-bringen “dahin bringen, es durchsetzen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(dara)-bi-wenten “umwenden, rückgängig machen” (Raven I 1963: 257). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-bringen “hinbringen, hinstellen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-denken “sinnen” (Raven I 1963: 26). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-fuogen “dazutun” (Raven I 1963: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-fuoren “hinbringen, hinführen” (Raven I 1963: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-gerōn “dahin begehren, wieder aufsuchen, verlangen” (Raven II 1967: 53). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-gi-fieren “(sich) wenden, bei Seite wenden, weisen, bezwecken” (Raven I 1963: 39). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-gi-īlen “dahineilen” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-gi-leiten “dahin führen” (Raven I 1963: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-gi-wāsen “dahinführen, dahinweisen” (Raven I 1963: 267). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-huggen “denken an” (Raven I 1963: 305). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-īlen “hineilen” (Raven I 1963: 79). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-in-leiten “hinein-, einführen, -bringen” (Raven I 1963: 104). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-kēren “sich dahin wenden” (Raven I 1963: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-kleiben “daran befestigen” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-ladōn “dahin berufen, einladen” (Raven II 1967: 84). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-langēn “(impers. +acc.) danach verlangen, Sehnsucht haben nach” (Raven II 1967: 233). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-leggen “legen” (Raven I 1963: 311). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-(h)losēn “auf etwas horchen, lauschen” (Raven II 1967: 239). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

daranāh-denken “spähen, erforschen, beobachten” (Raven I 1963: 26). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-nāhen “dahin gehen” (Raven I 1963: 135). The following cognate verbs are attested: None. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-nemnen “dahinberufen” (Raven I 1963: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-rihten “dahin rihten” (Raven I 1963: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-senten “dahinschicken” (Raven I 1963: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(dara)-ūz-beiten “versuchen herauszukommen” (Raven I 1963: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-wenten “(sich) dahin wenden” (Raven I 1963: 257). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-wāsen “dahinweisen, dahinführen” (Raven I 1963: 266). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-wāōn “darauf ausgehen, danach streben, besuchen” (Raven II 1967: 186). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-zellen “auf-, herzählen” (Raven I 1963: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-zuo-bringen “völlig besiegen, jemanden überreden, bewegen, erweichen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-zuo-garawen “bereiten” (Raven I 1963: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dara-zuo-ginuogen “reichlich vorhanden sein” (Raven I 1963: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(dara)-zuo-leggen “festsetzen, hinzufügen” (Raven I 1963: 313). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(dara)-zuo-leiten “hinführen, dahinleiten, passend, entsprechend” (Raven I 1963: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

darbēn “(+gen.) Mangel haben an, (ab)lösen, zurückkaufen, bedürfen, entbehren, nicht haben, (reflex. +gen.) sich entäußern, enthalten, verzichten, fehlen, frei von etwas sein, einer Sache (z.B. des Todes oder des Lebens = tot sein) beraubt werden, verlustig gehen” (Raven II 1967: 207). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *tharbōn* (Schade I 1882: 96) “Mangel haben”; OE *ge-þearfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 356) “to be in want”; OE *þearfian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 356) “to starve, be in need, want”; ON *þarfa* (de Vries 1962: 606) “nötig sein”; Gothic *ga-þarban* III (Lehmann 1986: 355) “to abstain from, exercise self-control”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þarbējanan* “darben”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *darba* (Kluge 1989: 128) “Bedarf, Not, Mangel”; OS *tharf* (Kluge 1989: 128) “Bedarf, Not, Mangel”; OFs. *therve* (Kluge 1989: 128) “Bedarf, Not, Mangel”; OE *þearf* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 356) “need, necessity, want; trouble, distress, hardship”; ON *þorf* (Kluge 1989: 128) “Bedarf, Not, Mangel”; Gothic *þarba* (Kluge 1989: 128) “want, need, necessity”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þarbō* (Kluge 1989: 128) “Mangel”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

darf “bedürfen, brauchen, sollen” (Seebold 1970: 509). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *tharf* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 509) “nötig haben, Veranlassung haben, neg. brauchen”; OFs. *thor* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 509) “bedürfen, brauchen, nötig haben”; OE *þearf* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 509) “to need, require”; ON *þarf* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 509) “nötig haben, bedürfen”; Gothic *þarf* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 509) “bedürfen, nötig haben”. These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **þarf* (Seebold 1970: 509) “bedarf”. This verb can be traced back to an IE $\sqrt{*terp-}$, $*trep-$ (Pokorny I 1956: 1077) “erfreuen, sich sättigen, genießen; semantic development in Gmc > gebrauchen > brauchen, bedürfen”. Probably also deriving from this base are the following: Skt *trpyati* (Seebold 1970: 510) “befriedigt sich, sättigt, freut”; Avest. *tarəp-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1077) “stehlen”; Greek

τέρπω (Seebold 1970: 510) “ich erfreue mich”; OPruss. *enterpo* (Seebold 1970: 510) “nützt”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present).

dawalōn “hinsterven, im Sterben liegen, schwer oder krank sein” (Raven II 1967: 25). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **dawalōjan* (Seebold 1970: 148) class II frequentative / continuative deverbative formed with l-extension from strong verb **daujanan* (Seebold 1970: 148) “sterben” (see under *tōwen*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

deganōn “als Soldat dienen, Kriegsdienste tun” (Raven II 1967: 25). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *degan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 92) “Soldat, Gefolgsmann, Held”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

deismen “säuern, gedeihen, gähren” (Raven I 1963: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *deismo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 92) “Sauerteig, Hefe”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

decken “bedecken, decken” (Raven I 1963: 23). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thekkian* I (Kluge 1989: 130) “decken”; OFs. *thekka* I (Kluge 1989: 130) “decken”; OE *peccan* I (Kluge 1989: 130) “to cover, cover over, conceal”; ON *þekja* I (Kluge 1989: 130) “decken, kleiden; mit einem Dach versehen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þakijanan* (Kluge 1989: 130) “decken, mit einem Dach versehen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *dah* (Starck and Wells 1990: 89) “Dach, Decke”; OFs. *thek* (de Vries 1962: 605) “Dach”; OE *þæc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 354) “covering, roof of a building; thatch”; ON *þak* (Kluge 1989: 125) “Dach, Decke, Dachmaterial, zusätzliche Büße”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þakan* (Kluge 1989: 125) “Dach, Decke”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, gi-, int-, umbi-*

dempfen, tempfen “ersticken, würgen, töten” (Raven I 1963: 225). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **dampejan* “ersticken”, causative deverbative from strong verb **dempanan* “dampfen, rauchen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MHG *dimpfen* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 127) “dampfen (von der körperlichen Ausdünstung), rauchen”. Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, fir-, ir-, untar-*

denken “denken” (Raven I 1963: 25). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thenkian* I (Kluge 1989: 134) “denken”; OFs. *thanka, thenza* I (Kluge 1989: 134) “denken”; OE *þencan* I (Kluge 1989: 134) “to think, imagine, think of, meditate, reason, consider; remember, recollect; intend, attempt, devise; learn; wish for, desire”; ON *þekkja* I (Kluge 1989: 134) “wahrnehmen, erkennen, kennen, wissen”; Gothic *þagkjan* I (Kluge 1989: 134) “to think, deliberate, consider, ponder”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þankjanan* “denken, erwägen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It stands in ablaut relation to the Gmc zero-grade **þunkjanan* (see under *dunken*), but probably antedates this zero-grade verb. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*tong-}$, **teng-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1088) “denken, fühlen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Alb. *tāngë* (Pokorny 1956: 1088) “resentment”; Latin *tongere* (Lehmann 1986: 353) “to know”; Oscan *tanginom* (Lehmann 1986: 353) “thought”; Toch.A *tunk-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1088) “Liebe”; Toch.B *tankw* (Pokorny I 1956: 1088) “Liebe”. The IE parallels given above provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, bi-, dara-, daranāh-, fir-, fora-, gi-, hina-ūf-, ir-, missi-, umbi-, zuo-*

dennen “(aus)dehnen, (aus)spannen, ausstrecken, zeitlich verlängern, ziehen” (Raven I 1963: 288). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thennian* I (Kluge 1989: 131) “(aus)dehnen”; OE *þennan* I (Kluge 1989: 131) “to stretch out, extend; prostrate; exert oneself;

spread the fame of, magnify”; ON *þenja* I (Kluge 1989: 131) “ausdehnen, spannen”; Gothic *uf-þanjan* I (Kluge 1989: 131) “to stretch out, strive for”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þanejanan* (Kluge 1989: 131) “dehnen, strecken”. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are unclear. Semantically and phonologically the verb would appear to represent a causative deverbative. It may have been formed from an unattested verb in the Gmc period. Alternatively, it may have been formed from a pre-Gmc verb prior to the full separation of the Gmc group. In either case, the verb from which it probably derives can ultimately be traced back to the IE $\sqrt{*ten-}$ (Kluge 1989: 131) “dehnen, ziehen; spannen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *tanóti* (Kluge 1989: 131) “spannt”; Skt *tānáyati* causative (Lehmann 1986: 374) “spannen”; Greek *τείνω* (Kluge 1989: 131) “ich dehne, spanne”; Alb. *n-dënj* (Pokorny I 1956: 1066) “breite aus, ziehe, spanne die Saiten”; Latin *tendere* d-extension (Kluge 1989: 131) “to stretch, extend”; OIr. *tan* (Pokorny I 1956: 1066) “Zeit, Fortdauer, zeitliche Ausdehnung”. As this verb may well date back to the pre-Gmc period, it will therefore be given a pre-Gmc status.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *fir-*, *fora-gi-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *ingagan-*, *ir-*, *ubar-*, *üz-gi-*, *zi-*

derren “welken, trocknen, dörren” (Raven I 1963: 27). cf. OHG *dorrēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-þierran* I (Kluge 1989: 152) “to dry, wipe, clean”; ON *þerra* I (Kluge 1989: 152) “trocknen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þarzejanan* (Seebold 1970: 515) “trocknen, dörren”, deverbative from strong verb **þersanan* (Seebold 1970: 515) “trocknen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: Gothic *ga-þaursans* nur part. prät. (Seebold 1970: 515) “verdorrt (von der Hand)”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *ir-*

dewen, douwen “auftauchen, benetzen, schmelzen, verdauen, erweichen, eigentlich = auflösen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-thewian* I (Kluge 1989: 758) “verdauen, verschmelzen”; MLG *douwen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1788) “verdauen, tauen”; MDu *dōyen, doyen, downen* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1788) “tauen”; ON *þeyja* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1788) “tauen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þaujanan* “tauen, verflüssigen, auflösen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE $\sqrt{*tā-}$, **tā-*; **tāl-*, **tāl-*, **ti-*; [**tāl-*], **tāl-*, **tu-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1053) “schmelzen, sich auflösen (fließen), hinschwinden (Moder, verwesendes)”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *þawian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 356) “to thaw”; OE *þawenian* II n-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 1054) “to soften, moisten”; OE *þīnan* I n-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 1054) “to grow moist”; Welsh *tawdd* (Pokorny I 1956: 1053) “schmelzen”; OCS *tajo, tajetb* (Pokorny I 1956: 1053) “schmelzen”; Ossetic *thayun* (Pokorny I 1956: 1053) “tauen, schmelzen”; Latin *tābēre* b(h)-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 1053) “schmelzen, hinsiechen”; Greek *τρίκω* (Pokorny I 1956: 1053) “ich schmelze”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *üz-fir-*, *widar-*

dezemōn “den Zehnten bezahlen” (Raven II 1967: 25). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *dezemo* (Schade I 1884: 101) “Zehnte” < Latin *decima* (Schade I 1884: 101) “Zehnte”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

diggen “bitten, flehen (+gen), beten (+zi et dat. pers, trs.) anflehen” (Raven I 1963: 290). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thiggian* (Seebold 1970: 510) “annehmen, bekommen, flehen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þegjan* (Seebold 1970: 510) class I weak deverbative from strong verb **þegjanan* (Seebold 1970: 510) “empfangen, erbitten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *þicgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 510) “to take, receive, accept”; ON *þiggja* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 510) “empfangen, erreichen, jemand beschützen”; OSwed. *þiggja* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 510) “empfangen, erbitten”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

dihtōn “schriftlich abfassen, dichten, gebieten, schreiben, in Versen schreiben, erdichten, erfinden, machen” (Raven II 1967: 25). No cognate verbs are attested. OHG *dihtōn* is probably a later, learned loan verb from Latin class I verb *dictāre* (Kluge 1989: 142) “sagen”, as it does not display the sound change 'd' > 't' characteristic of early OHG. Compare the following independent parallel loan verbs in the remaining Gmc languages: MDu *dichten* (Kluge 1989: 142) “dichten”; OFs. *dichta* (Kluge 1989: 142) “abfassen”; OE *dihtan*, *dihtian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 85) “to arrange, dispose, appoint, direct, dictate, impose; compose, write; make, do”; ON *dikta* II (Kluge 1989: 142) “etwas auf Latein abfassen”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

dickēn “dick oder dicht werden, stumpf oder unempfindlich werden, verhärten” (Raven II 1967: 208). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *þiccian* II intrs. (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 360) “to thicken, become thick, crowd together”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þekējan* “to be or become thick, dense”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *dickōn*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

dickōn “dick machen, verdichten” (Raven II 1967: 25). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *þiccian* II trs. (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 360) “to make thick, thicken (trs.)”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þekōjan* “to thicken, make thick”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *dicki* (Starck and Wells 1990: 99) “dick, dicht, zusammengedrängt”; OS *thikki* (Kluge 1989: 142) “dick, dicht”; OE *þicce* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 360) “thick, viscous, solid, dense, stiff; numerous, abundant; hazy, gloomy; deep”; ON *þykkir* (Kluge 1989: 142) “dick, dicht”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þekuz* “dick” (mit diesem Lautansatz ist wohl anzukommen, obwohl die Nachfolgeformen Geminatio und Aufhellung des Vokals vor j voraussetzen; hierfür dürfte aber der Ausgleich innerhalb der Flexion maßgeblich gewesen sein (Kluge 1989: 142)). cf. OIr. *tuig* (Kluge 1989: 142) “dick, dicht. These all derive from a Western IE **tegos* (Kluge 1989: 142) “dick”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

**dillōn* MHG *dillen* (Pfeifer I 1989: 282) “mit Laufbrettern belegen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *þilian*, *þillian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 360) “to lay with planks, board over”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þe(l)ōjan* “to lay with planks”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *dil(o)*, *dilla* (Kluge 1989: 142) “Diele”; OS *thili* (Kluge 1989: 142) “Diele”; OE *þille* (Kluge 1989: 142) “boarding, floor; table”; ON *þil(i)* (Kluge 1989: 142) “Bretterwand, Getäfel, Dielung”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þel(l)ō*, **þel(l)iz* “Diele”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

dilōn “tilgen, vertilgen” (Raven II 1967: 26). Also appears as *tiligōn* (Raven II 1967: 155). Loan verb from OE *dīlegian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 86) “to destroy, blot out; perish”. This in turn a monastic loan verb particularly with meaning “to blot out” < Latin *delēre* (Kluge 1989: 730) “to destroy”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

ding-altōn “zögern, Zeit gewinnen” (Raven II 1967: 26). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *ding* (Starck and Wells 1990: 100) “Ding, Volksversammlung, Angelegenheit”; cf. OHG *altōn* II “versäumen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dingen “etwas (gerichtlich) durchsetzen, Gericht halten, eine Entscheidung herbeiführen, suchen, hoffen, danach streben” (Raven I 1963: 28). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *þingan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 360) “to address, invite”, which allows us to

reconstruct a WGmc **þengōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 145) “vertraglich festsetzen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *dingōn*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, fir-, gi-, ir-, ubar-, zuo-*

dingōn “dingen, verhandeln (in der Volksversammlung), eine Versammlung abhalten, vor Gericht bringen, eine Sache führen, Frieden schließen, ausbedingen, mieten, als Lehn überlassen, beraten, überlegen, sich versteckt halten” (Raven II 1967: 26). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *thingia* II (Kluge 1989: 145); OS *thingōn* II (Kluge 1989: 145); OE *þingian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 360) “to beg, ask, intercede for; covenant, conciliate; compound with, settle; prescribe; determine, purpose, design, arrange; talk; harangue”; ON *þinga* II (de Vries 1962: 611) “Ding abhalten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þengōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 145) “vertraglich festsetzen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ding* (Starck and Wells 1990: 100) “Ding, Volksversammlung, Angelegenheit”; OS *thing* (Kluge 1989: 144) “Ding”; OFs. *thing* (Kluge 1989: 144) “Ding”; OE *þing* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 360) “creature; object, property; cause, motive, reason; lawsuit; event, affair, act, deed, enterprise; condition, circumstances; contest, discussion, meeting, council, assembly; court of justice; point, respect”; ON *þing* (Kluge 1989: 144) “Versammlung, Volksding; Dingstätte; Eigentum”; Gothic *þeihs* (Kluge 1989: 144) “occasion, time”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þengan* (Kluge 1989: 144) “Versammlung, Volksding; Dingstätte; Eigentum”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, fir-, furdir-fir-, gi-, in-*

diomuoten “demütigen” (Raven I 1963: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *diomuoti* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 102) “demütig, erniedrigend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

diomuotēn “sich demütigen, demütig werden, sich erniedrigen” (Raven II 1967: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see *diomuoten*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

dionōn “dienen, sich demütigen, dienstbar sein, dienstfertig” (Raven II 1967: 27). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thionōn* II (Kluge 1989: 142) “dienen”; OFs. *thānia* II (Kluge 1989: 142) “dienen”; ON *þjóna* II (Kluge 1989: 142) “dienen”; OSwed. *þiána* (de Vries 1962: 614), which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þewanōjanan* (de Vries 1962: 614) “dienen”. According to Seebold (Kluge 1989: 142), the n-element in this verb might be due to influence from the verb **skalkinōjanan* attested in Gothic *skalkinōn* “dienen”, which this verb may have replaced in NWGmc. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OE *þēow* (Kluge 1989: 142) “servant, slave”; Run. *þewaR* (Kluge 1989: 142). Gothic *þius* (Kluge 1989: 142) “boy, (House) servant”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þewaz* (Kluge 1989: 142) “Diener”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb (formed with n-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, fir-, gi-, ir-, untar-*

**diuben* “stehlen, wie ein Dieb handeln”. MHG *diuben*, *dieben* (Lexer I 1872: 442) “wie ein Dieb handeln, verstohlen bringen”. No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OE *þēofian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 358) “to steal, thieve”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *diob* (Starck and Wells 1990: 101) “Dieb; Wegelagerer”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

diuten “deuten, übersetzen, erklären” (Raven I 1963: 29). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *duden* (Pfeifer I 1989: 275) “deuten”; MLG *dūden*, *dieden* (Pfeifer I 1989: 275) “deuten”; OE *ge-þēdan* I (de Vries 1962: 629) “to join, connect, unite, associate, apply, adjust,

translate”; ON *þýða* I (Kluge 1989: 138) “(einen Traum) deuten, erklären; übersetzen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þeudijanan* “vor dem versammelten Volk erklären, für das Volk verständlich machen; > (Vorgänge, Erscheinungen und Äußerungen) erklären, auslegen; > (aus einer fremden Sprache in die eigene) übersetzen, einen bestimmten Sinn haben, bedeuten” (Pfeifer I 1989: 275). The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *diot* (Kluge 1989: 613) “Volk, Volksstamm”; OS *thiod(a)* (de Vries 1962: 613) “a people, (in pl) men”; OFs. *thiād* (de Vries 1962: 613). OE *þēod* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 357) “people, nation, tribe; region, country, province; men, war-troop, retainers; language”; Gothic *þiuda* (de Vries 1962: 613) “a nation, people”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þeudō* “Volk, (pl.) Männer”, (hence also) “Mannring, Männerkreis (auf dem Ding)” hence also “(feierliche) Rede auf dem Ding”; cf. Lat-Gmc *Teutoni* (de Vries 1962: 613). cf. ON *þýða* (de Vries 1962: 629) “Freundschaft”; cf. ON *þýða* (de Vries 1962: 629) “erfreuen”; cf. Gothic *þiubjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 363) “to bless, pronounce good upon”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *untar-*

diuwen “zerbrechen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 29). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **þeujan* “zerbrechen, vernichten”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE $\sqrt{*(s)teu-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “stoßen, schlagen” (see under *dūhen*). Attested forms of this verb are confined to OHG, and the related IE forms given under *dūhen* do not allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

dolēn “dulden, leiden, erleiden, ertragen, vertragen, geschehen lassen, zulassen, tragisch sterben, subst. das Leiden (= eine der zehn Kategorien)” (Raven II 1967: 208). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *tholōn* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 316) “dulden, ertragen, erleiden”; OFs. *tholia* II (de Vries 1962: 615) “dulden, ertragen, erleiden”; OE *þolian* II intrs. (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 361) “to suffer, endure, undergo; persevere, hold out, remain, survive”; ON *þola* III (Pfeifer I 1989: 316) “dulden”; Gothic *þulan* III (Pfeifer I 1989: 316) “to endure, be patient with, put up with; need, lack, fall short of”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þulējanan* “to suffer, endure”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the zero-grade of IE $\sqrt{*tel-, *telā-, *tlē(i)-, *tlā-}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 1060) “aufheben, wägen; tragen; ertragen, dulden”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *tulayati* (Pokorny I 1956: 1060) “hebt auf, wägt”; Greek *τάλασσαι*, aorist *τλήναι* (Pokorny I 1959: 1060) “bear, endure, take responsibility for”; OLatin *tulere* (Lehmann 1986: 367) “to bring, bear”; Latin *tolerāre* (Pokorny I 1956: 1061) “(er)tragen, unterhalten”; OIr. *tlenaid* < **tlnāi* n-present (Lehmann 1986: 367) “removes, carries off, steals”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *eban-, fir-*

dolōn “dulden, leiden” (Raven II 1967: 28). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *tholōn* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 316) “dulden, leiden”; OFs. *tholia* II (de Vries 1962: 615) “dulden, leiden”; OE *þolian* II trs. (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 361) “to suffer, endure, undergo; allow”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þulōjan* “to suffer, endure”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may represent a class II variant of the Gmc class III verb **þulējanan* “to suffer, endure” (for an etymology of which see under *dolēn*) and, as the class III verb belongs to an older stratum, **þulōjan* would therefore best be analysed as a class II deverbative from it.

donarōn “donnern” (Raven II 1967: 28). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *þunrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 365) “to thunder”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þunrōjan* “to thunder”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *donar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 104) “Donner”; OS *thunar* (Kluge 1989: 151) “Donner”; OFs. *thuner*, *thonger* (Kluge 1989: 151) “Donner”; OE *þunor* (Kluge 1989: 151) “thunder, thunder-clap, the

thunder god Thor”; ON *þórr* (Kluge 1989: 151) “the thunder god Thor”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þunraz* (Kluge 1989: 151) “thunder, thunder-clap, the thunder god Thor”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

donēn “gespannt oder gestreckt sein, sich strecken, die Glieder ausgereckt haben” (Raven II 1967: 209). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *dona* (Starck and Wells 1990: 104) “Ranke, Weinstock, Sehne”. Semantic connection more transparent in MHG *don(e)* (Schade I 1882: 107) “Spannung; Anstrengung, Bemühung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

dorrēn “dürr werden, verdorren, trocken werden, welk oder schlapp sein” (Raven II 1967: 209).

No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **þurzējanan* (Seebold 1970: 515) class III ingressive (durative also?) deverbative from strong verb **þersanan* (Seebold 1970: 515) “trocknen” (see under *derren*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *ir-*

dōsen “ganz zugrunde richten, völlig verderben, vereiteln, gänzlich vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 30). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **dausjan* “stürmen (vom Wind), vernichten (vom Wind)”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*dheues-}$, **dhuēs-*, **dheus-*, **dhūs-* (see under *dōsōn*). Despite the fact that the verb is not attested in the Gmc languages outside OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a possible pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

dōsōn “tosen, (vom Wind) brausen” (Raven II 1967: 28). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **dausōjan* “tosen, brausen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*dheues-}$, **dhuēs-*, **dheus-*, **dhūs-* (Pokorny I 1956: 268) “stieben, stäuben, wirbeln (nebeln, regnen, Dunst, Staub); stürmen (vom Wind), blasen, brausen, wehen, hauchen, keuchen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *dhvamsati* (Pokorny I 1956: 268) “zerstiebt, zerfällt, geht zugrunde”; Greek *θύω* (Kluge 1989: 733) “ich stürme”; Latin *furere* (Kluge 1989: 733) “rasen, wüten”; Lith. *desiù*, *dvesiau*, *dvesti* (Pokorny I 1956: 227) “atmen, den Geist aushauchen, verenden”. Despite the fact that the verb is not attested in the Gmc languages outside OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a possible pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

doubōn “bändigen, überwältigen, zähmen” (Raven II 1967: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *doub* (Starck and Wells 1990: 105) “Daumen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *untar-*

doumen “duften, emporwallen, durchräuchern” (Raven I 1963: 30). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dōmian* I (Lehmann 1986: 88) “to steam”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **daumijan* “duften, durchräuchern, dampfen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *doum*, *toum* (Starck and Wells 1990: 106) “Rauch, Geruch, Duft, Dunst, Dampf”; MDu *doom* (Lehmann 1986: 88) “steam, vapour”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **daumaz* “Rauch, Dunst, Dampf”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

dōzōn “donnern, losdonnern, tosen, Aussage” (Raven II 1967: 28). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **þautōjan* (Seebold 1970: 516) class II deverbative from strong verb **þeutan* (Seebold 1970: 516) “schallen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *diozan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 516) “tosen (besonders vom Wasser), hervorströmen”; OE *þēotan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 359) “to roar, howl; to sound

forth, resound, murmur”; ON *þjóta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 516) “heulen (Wolf), rauschen (Wasser), tosen; blasen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

drāen “drehen” (Raven I 1963: 30). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thrāian* I (Seebold 1970: 519) “drehen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc *prējan* (Seebold 1970: 519) class I weak deverbative from strong verb **prēanan* (Seebold 1970: 519) “drehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *prāwan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 519) “to turn, twist, curl, turn round; to rack, torture”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

drāihen “durchduften” (Raven I 1963: 30). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *drāhi* (Schade I 1882: 108) “Duft”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

drangōn “sich drängen, inmitten vieler sitzen, zusammendrängen” (Raven II 1967: 29). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **prangōjan* (Seebold 1970: 521) class II deverbative from strong verb **prenhanan* (Seebold 1970: 520) “drängen, dringen” (see under **drengen**). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *umbi-*

drāsen “dumpf tosen oder tönen” (Raven I 1963: 30). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thrāsian* I (Lehmann 1986: 364) “to rage menacingly”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **prāsjan* “tosén”. Further etymology obscure. Possibly, but not convincingly, from extended-grade of IE $\sqrt{*tres-}$, **ters-* (Lehmann 1986: 364) “zittern”, from which base the following may be derived: Skt *trasati* (Lehmann 1986: 364) “to tremble”; Avest. *tarasaiti* (Lehmann 1986: 364) “to fear”; Greek *τρέω* (Lehmann 1986: 364) “I fear, tremble, flee”; Latin *terrēre* (Lehmann 1986: 364) “to terrify”; Lith. *trišėti* (Lehmann 1986: 364) “to shiver, shake”.

drāsōn “schnaubern, wiehern, dumpf tosen” (Raven II 1967: 29). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **prāsōn* “schnaubern, tosen”. Further etymology uncertain. Possibly, but not convincingly, from extended-grade of IE $\sqrt{*tres-}$, **ters-* (see under **drāsen**).

drengen “sich etwas fest einprägen, beachten, eindringen lassen” (Raven I 1963: 227). cf. OHG *drangōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *prengan* I (Seebold 1970: 521) “sich einkeilen, zwingen”; ON *prængva* I (Seebold 1970: 521) “to make narrow, press, squeeze”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **prangejanan* (Seebold 1970: 521) causative of strong verb **prenhanan* (Seebold 1970: 520) “drängen, dringen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *dringan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 520) “dringen, drängen, fortstoßen, belästigen”; OS *thringan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 520) “dringen, drängen”; OFs. *ur-thringa* pres only (Seebold 1970: 520) “verdrängen”; OE *pringan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 363) “to press, squeeze, crowd upon, throng, press forward, rush on, hasten, advance; oppress”; ON *þryngva*, *þryngja* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 520) “drängen, pressen; anfüllen”; Gothic *preihan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 520) “drängen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

drewen, drouwen “(be)drohen, dräuen, Vorwürfe machen, halblaut reden, in den Bart murmeln” (Raven I 1963: 291). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *prēan*, *prēagan* I (Kluge 1989: 156) “to rebuke, chastise, correct, punish; threaten, menace; attack, oppress, torture, afflict, vex, harass”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **prawijan* “drohen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*treu-}$, **trū-* (Pfeifer I 1989: 309) “stoßen, drängen, bedrängen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OS *gi-thrōn* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 308) “tadeln, züchtigen, strafen, bedrohen, angreifen”; OE *ge-prūen* pret. part. (Pokorny I 1956: 1073) “zusammengepreßt, verdichtet”; OE *prȳn*

(Pokorny I 1956: 1073) “to press, bind; repress”; Welsh *taraw* (Pokorny I 1956: 1072) “schlagen”; OCS *traviti* (Pfeifer I 1989: 309) “verzehren”; Greek *τύω* (Kluge 1989: 156) “ich drücke nieder, erschöpfe”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ūz-ir-*

drīfaltōn “dreifach machen, verdreifachen” (Raven II 1967: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *drīfalt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 107) “dreifach”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

drittehantōn “zum Aufheben übermitteln, sequestrieren” (Raven II 1967: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG compound substantive **drittehant* which can be reconstructed from the following: OHG *dritto* (Starck and Wells 1990: 108) “dritte”; OHG *hant* (Starck and Wells 1990: 253) “Hand”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

drōzzēn “abwendig machen, beschweren” (Raven I 1963: 30). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *prīetan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 363) “to weary; force”; ON *preyta* I (Seebold 1970: 523) “betreiben, sich abmühen, ermüden, zwingen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **prautejanan* (Seebold 1970: 523) causative of strong verb **preutanan* (Seebold 1970: 523) “müde werden”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *ir-driozan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 523) “sich etwas verdrießen lassen, einer Sache überdrüssig werden, bedrückt werden sich einweichen lassen durch”; OE *prēotan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 363) “to vex, weary, tire, become disagreeable”; ON *prjóta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 523) “müde werden, aufhören, ermangeln, mißlingen”; Gothic *us-þriutan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 523) “to bother, persecute”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

drucken “zusammendrücken, -drängen, untertänig machen, von unten befästigen, häufen” (Raven I 1963: 30). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *drücken* (Pfeifer I 1989: 311) “drücken”; MDu *drucken* (Pfeifer I 1989: 311) “drücken”; OE *þryccan* I (Kluge 1989: 157) “to press, crush, oppress, repress, trample; force a way”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þrukkan* intensive gemination and devoicing (Kluge 1989: 157) “drücken”, intensive deverbative from a NWGmc class II weak verb **þrūgōjanan* “drohen, unterdrücken”, represented by ON *þrúga* II (Kluge 1989: 157) “drohen, unterdrücken, nötigen”. Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fīr-*, *gi-*, *in-*, *ir-*, *widar-*, *zīsamene-*

drumōn “zerstückeln” (Raven II 1967: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *drum* (Starck and Wells 1990: 109) “Ende, Endstück, Stamm”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

druoēn “ertragen, dulden, belastet oder beschwert sein, leiden” (Raven II 1967: 210). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *þrōwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 364) “to endure, suffer, die; pay for; atone for”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þrōējan* “to endure, suffer”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *drōa* (Schade I 1882: 113) “onus, passio”; MidEngl *þrove* (Onions 1966: 920) “throe”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

druozēn “anlocken, verführen, lüstern machen” (Raven I 1963: 31). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

drūsten “auspressen, ausdrängen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 109). The following cognate verbs are attested: MidEngl *to-thruste*, *þriste*, *þreste* (Onions 1966: 921) “to thrust”; ON *þrýsta* I

(Pokorny I 1956: 1096) “to thrust, press; force, compel”; ODan. *tryste* (Jóhannesson 1956: 459) “drücken, stoßen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þrūsjanan* “to thrust, press”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may be a NWGmc st-extension from ‘Dehnstufe’ of IE $\sqrt{*ter-}$, **terā*, **trēi*, **trē*, **teru*, **treu-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1071) “reiben, drehend reiben”, commonly occurring in d-extension **tr-eu-d-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1095) “quetschen, stoßen, drücken”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *driozan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 1095) “bedrängen, belästigen”; OHG *ur-drioz* (Pokorny I 1956: 1095) “Verdruß”; MHG *drōz* (Pokorny I 1956: 1095) “Verdruß, Last, Beschwerde”; OE *þrēat* (Pokorny I 1956: 1095) “crowd, throng, host, troop; oppression, co-ercion, calumny”; OE *þryscan* I (Pokorny I 1956: 1096) “to weigh down, afflict, oppress”; OE *þryscan* I (Pokorny I 1956: 1096) “to press, oppress, stifle”; ON *þraut* (Pokorny I 1956: 1095) “Kraftprobe, Bedrängnis”; OCS *trudb* (Pokorny I 1956: 1096) “Mühe”; OIr. *tromm* (Pokorny I 1956: 1095) “schwer”; Mid.Welsh *cythruō* (Pokorny I 1956: 1095) “quälen”; Latin *trūdere* (Pokorny I 1956: 1095) “stoßen, fortstoßen, drängen”. The phonological development of this verb is complicated. This complexity points to it being a later form derived during the NWGmc period, rather than a pre-Gmc verb. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

dūhen “pressen, drücken, zusammendrängen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *þȳan*, *þȳn*, *þȳwan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “to press, impress; stab, pierce; crush, push, oppress, check; threaten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þūjan* “to press, oppress, push, crush”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ‘Dehnstufe’ grade of IE $\sqrt{*(s)teu-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “stoßen, schlagen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *diuwen* I (Raven I 1963: 29) “zerbrechen, vernichten”; OE *þēon* II (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “drücken, zwingen, stechen”; ON *stygg* s-mobile (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “zornig, unfreundlich”; OIr. *toll* (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “hohl; Höhle, Loch”; OCS *tkati* (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “weben, stechen”; Latvian *tukstāt* (Pokorny I 1956: 1032) “klopfen”. None of the verbs given above are formed with the ‘Dehnstufe’ grade, which indicates that this grade must be a Gmc or WGmc innovation. The verb cannot, therefore, be considered pre-Gmc. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fīr-*, *gi-*, *in-gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *nidar-*

dulden “dulden, ertragen, gestatten, erlauben” (Raven I 1963: 32). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *dulden* (Kluge 1989: 159) “dulden”; MDu *dulden* (Kluge 1989: 159) “dulden”; OFs. *thielda* I (Kluge 1989: 159) “dulden”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þuldijan* (Kluge 1989: 159) “dulden”; cf. OE *þylði(ge)an* II (Kluge 1989: 159) “to be patient, bear, endure”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *dult* (Starck and Wells 1990: 110) “Geduld, Erdulden”; OS *gi-thuld* (Kluge 1989: 159) “Geduld”; OE *(ge)-þyld* (Kluge 1989: 159) “patience”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þuldiz* fem (Kluge 1989: 159) “das Dulden”, abstract noun formed with suffix ‘t’, from Gmc verb **þulējanan* “dulden” (see under *dolēn*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *eban-*, *fīr-*, *gi-*

dunken “dünken” (Raven I 1963: 33). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thunkian* I (Kluge 1989: 160) “dünken”; OFs. *thinza* I (Kluge 1989: 160) “dünken”; OE *þyncan* I (Kluge 1989: 160) “to seem, appear; fit”; ON *þykka* I (Kluge 1989: 160) “dünken, Scheinen, gefallen”; Gothic *þugkjan* I (Kluge 1989: 160) “to believe, have an opinion; seem, appear”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þunkjanan* “dünken”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It stands in ablaut relation to Gmc **þankjanan* (see under *denken*), and is possibly a zero-grade deverbative from this. It derives ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*tong-}$, **teng-* (Pokorny I 1956: 1088) “denken, fühlen” (see under *denken*). As there is no evidence for a zero-grade verb in IE, this verb is best regarded as a Gmc, rather than pre-Gmc, formation. Therefore a Gmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

duncōn “eintauchen, tunken” (Raven II 1967: 29). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **punkōjan* “tunken, eintauchen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut zero-grade, **tng-*, of the IE $\sqrt{*teng-}$ (Pokorny I 1957: 1067) “benetzen, anfeuchten”, from which base the following may also be derived: Greek τέγω (Kluge 1989: 745) “ich erweiche, benetze, befeuchte”; Latin *ting(u)ere* (Kluge 1989: 745) “benetzen, anfeuchten; färben”. Despite the fact that the verb is not attested in the Gmc languages outside OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a possible pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

dunnen “dünn oder schwach machen, schwächen, verringern” (Raven I 1963: 34). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *þynna* I (de Vries 1962: 630) “verdünnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þunnijanan* “to make thin”. cf. OE *ge-þynnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “to thin, make thin, lessen, dilute”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *dunni* (Starck and Wells 1990: 111) “dünn, zart, schmal, schwach”; OS *thunni* (Kluge 1989: 160) “dünn”; OFs. *thenne* (Kluge 1989: 160) “dünn”; OE *þynne* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “thin, lean; fluid, tenuous; weak, feeble”; ON *þunnr* (Kluge 1989: 160) “dünn, schwach, klar”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þunnuz* (Kluge 1989: 160) “dünn”. This later becomes **þunnja* in WGmc. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

dunnēn “dünn werden, locker werden, sich öffnen” (Raven II 1967: 211). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *þynnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “to become thin”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þunnējan* “to be or become thin”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *dunnen*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

durftīgōn “brauchen, nötig haben, (passiv) bedürfen, bedürftig sein” (Raven II 1967: 29). The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *durftīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 111) “arm, bedürftig, Not leidend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

durhilōn “durchlöchern, d.h. die Nahten des morschen Schiffbodens öffnen” (Raven II 1967: 30). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *þyrlian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “to perforate, pierce, excavate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þurhilōjan* “to perforate, pierce, fill with holes”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *durhil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 111) “durchbohrt, durchlöchert, zerfetzt”; OE *þyrel* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “pierced, perforated, full of holes”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **þurhilaz* (OED XVII 1989: 957) “pierced, perforated, full of holes”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

dursten “dürsten” (Raven I 1963: 34). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *thurstian* (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 1086) “dürsten”; OE *þyrstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “to thirst, thirst after”; ON *þyrsta* I (Lehmann 1986: 358) “dürsten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **þurstijanan* “to thirst, thirst after, be thirsty”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *durst* (Starck and Wells 1990: 112) “Durst, Glut, Hitze”; OS *thurst* (Kluge 1989: 162) “Durst”; OE *þurst* (Kluge 1989: 162) “thirst”; ON *þorsti* (Kluge 1989: 162) “Durst”; Gothic *þaurstei* (Lehmann 1986: 358) “thirst”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **þurstuz*, **þurstiz* (Kluge 1989: 162) “Durst, Dürre”, t-abstract from a verb represented by Gothic *þaurspan* I (Lehmann 1986: 358) “to thirst, be thirsty”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

duruh-āhten “umbringen, verfolgen” (Raven I 1963: 2). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-billōn “aushöhlen, [behauen]” (Raven II 1967: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-borōn “durchboren” (Raven II 1967: 21). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *þurh-borian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 366) “to bore through”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

duruh-brastōn “ertönen” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-bredigōn “predigen” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-bringen “hinbringen, überbringen, berichten, durchführen, hinauswerfen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-egisōn “erschrecken, in Bestürzung versetzen” (Raven II 1967: 31). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-flōzzēn “benetzen” (Raven I 1963: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-folgēn “nachfolgen, verfolgen” (Raven II 1967: 215). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-follōn “(zur Reise heimlich und rasch?) ein-, zusammenpacken” (Raven II 1967: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-frāgēn “(aus)fragen, ausforschen, sich erkundigen, untersuchen” (Raven II 1967: 216). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-fremmen “zum Abschluß kommen, vollenden, vollbringen” (Raven I 1963: 294). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-frummen “erlangen, durchsetzen, vollbringen, zustande oder zu Ende bringen” (Raven I 1963: 296). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-fullen “erfüllen, beenden” (Raven I 1963: 45). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-gi-fremmen “ausführen” (Raven I 1963: 294). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-grunden “(hin)eindringen, gelangen, durchdringen” (Raven I 1963: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-gruozen “bewegen, erregen, stürzen, rühren, beunruhigen” (Raven I 1963: 61). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-kunden “verkündigen, ankündigen, bekanntmachen” (Raven I 1963: 99). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-kwellen “vereiteln, vernichten, töten” (Raven I 1963: 308). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-leiten “hinführen, hinbringen, hinleiten, geleiten, fortsetzen, veranlassen, durchmachen, durchspähen, durchmustern, prüfen, reinigen, sühnen” (Raven I 1963: 104). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-lēren “bei etwas aufziehen, auf, in, unter etwas aufwachsen oder groß werden” (Raven I 1963: 109). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *purh-læran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 366) “to persuade”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

duruh-liuhten “durchleuchten, hervorscheinen, durchsichtig, sehr hell” (Raven I 1963: 112). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-misken “durchmischen” (Raven I 1963: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-nahtēn “übernachten, die Nacht zubringen” (Raven II 1967: 245). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-nezzen “benetzen, waschen, abspülen” (Raven I 1963: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-recken “erschüttern, tadeln, verweisen, verspotten, flüchtig besprechen, streifen” (Raven I 1963: 150). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-salbōn “übermalen, überstreichen” (Raven II 1967: 125). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-scouwōn “bis in das Innere einer Sache hindurchschauen” (Raven II 1967: 135). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-scrodōn “durchforschen” (Raven II 1967: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-suohhen “untersuchen, durchsuchen, (aus)forschen, ausfragen” (Raven I 1963: 215). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *purh-sēcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 366) “to search through, inquire thoroughly into”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

duruh-trennilōn “sich drehen, wirbeln” (Raven II 1967: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *trennila* (Starck and Wells 1990: 633) “Kreisel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *duruh-*).

duruh-truoben “aufregen, bestürzen, aus der Fassung bringen” (Raven I 1963: 231). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-tulden “Gottesdienst abhalten” (Raven I 1963: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-wāen “durchwehen” (Raven I 1963: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-wahhēn “durchwachen, harren auf, die Nacht zubringen, übernachten” (Raven II 1967: 269). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *purh-wacian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 366) “to keep vigil”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

duruh-wartēn “(+acc. pers.) streng prüfen, genau ansehen” (Raven II 1967: 270). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*durh-werēn*¹ “fortdauern” (Raven II 1967: 272). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

duruh-wonēn “aushalten, bleiben, dauern, verharren, beharrlich, hartknäckig” (Raven II 1967: 275). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *purh-wunian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 367) “to abide continuously, remain, continue, settle down; persevere, hold out, be steadfast”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

duruh-zougen “vollbringen, ausführen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 796). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

dwāden “ausspähen, erforschen, anhäufen, vergrößern, übertreiben” (Raven I 1963: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

dwengen “bedrängen, quälen” (Raven I 1963: 34). No cognate verbs are attested, which allows us to reconstruct a **pwangejan* (Seebold 1970: 527) causative deverbative from NWGmc strong verb **pweganan* (Seebold 1970: 526) “zwingen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *dwingan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 527) “zwingen, unterjochen, beherrschen, festbinden”; OS *thwingan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 527) “bedrängen”; OFs. *thwinga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 527) “zwingen, hindern”; Norw *tvinga* st. vb/wk vb (Seebold 1970: 526) “zwingen”. Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

dwesben “verderben, vertilgen” (Raven I 1963: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-, ir-*

E

ebanbilidōn “gestalten, gleichstalten, ausbilden” (Raven II 1967: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ebanbilidi* (Pfeifer I 1989: 173) “Vorbild, Beispiel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

[*eban*]-*bringen* “zusammentragen, -bringen, -fassen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(*eban*)-*brūhhen* “gebrauchen” (Raven I 1963: 20). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

eban-dolēn “Mitleid haben” (Raven II 1967: 209). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

eban-dulten “compati” (Raven I 1963: 33). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

[*eban*]-*fir-barmēn* “sich jemandes erbarmen, einen zum Mitleid bewegen, Erbarmen haben mit, einen erbarmen machen” (Raven II 1967: 205). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

eban-lebēn “zusammenleben, sich erquicken” (Raven II 1967: 234). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ebanlīhhōn “gleichstellen, gleichkommen, vergleichen” (Raven II 1967: 30). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *efenlician* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 101) “to make equal, liken, adjust”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ebanleikōjan* “to make equal, liken”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ebanlīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 115) “ebenso viel, so viel”; OE *efenlic* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 101) “even, equal, comparable to, of like age”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ebanleikaz* “equal, even”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

eban-mezzōn “gleichstellen, ein Maß setzen, mäßigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 412). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ebanen “ebnen, ausgleichen, gleich oder gerade machen, hinstrecken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 115). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *ebanōn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

eban-frewen “sich im Verein mit jemandem freuen, vereint beglückwünschen” (Raven I 1963: 295). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(*eban*)-(h)*liuten* “zusammentönen” (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ebanōn “ebnen, ausgleichen, gleich oder gerade machen, hinstrecken” (Raven II 1967: 30). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *efnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 101) “to make even, level; to liken, compare”; ON *jafna* II (Fritzner II 1954: 220) “ebnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **ebnōjanan* “ebnen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *eban* (Starck and Wells 1990: 114) “gleich, entsprechend, ähnlich”; OS *eban* (Kluge 1989: 164) “eben”; OFs. *even*, *iven* (Kluge 1989: 164) “eben”; OE *efen* (Kluge 1989: 164)

“even, equal, like, level; just, true; calm, harmonious”; ON *jafn, jamn* (Kluge 1989: 164) “eben, gleich”; Gothic *ibns* (Kluge 1989: 164) “eben”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **ebnaz* (Kluge 1989: 164) “eben, gleich”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ebun-wirken “mitwirken” (Raven I 1963: 265). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

**ebben* “ebben”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MHG *eppen* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1971: 28) “ebben, zurückgehen (vom Meerwasser)”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *ebben* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1971: 28) “ebben”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **abjijan* “to ebb, flow back”. cf. OE *ebbian* II (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1971: 28) “to ebb”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MLG, MDu. *ebbe* (Pfeifer I 1989: 324) “Ebbe”; OFs. *ebba* (Kluge 1989: 164) “Ebbe”; OE *ebba* (Kluge 1989: 164) “ebb, low tide”; ON *effa* with diverging meaning (Pfeifer I 1989: 324) “Gegenstrom in einem Fluß; Flußbucht”; OSwed. *æfia* with diverging meaning (de Vries 1962: 94) “Schlamm, Sumpf, Morast”; cf. OS *ebbiunga* (Kluge 1989: 164). We can therefore reconstruct a NWGmc **abjōn* (de Vries 1962: 94) “flowing back or away, ebb, low tide”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

eggen “eggen, ebnen” (Raven I 1963: 292). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *eggian* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 329). OE *ecgan* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 329) “to sharpen, harrow”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **agijan* (Kluge 1989: 166) “eggen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *egida* (Kluge 1989: 165) “Egge, Hacke, Hürde”; OS *egitha* (Kluge 1989: 165) “Egge”; OFs. *eide* (Kluge 1989: 165) “Egge”; OE *egede, egðe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 102) “harrow, rake”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ageþō* (Kluge 1989: 165) “Egge”. This verb represents a back-formation with the loss of Gmc suffix *-iþ-*. This suffix, commonly attached to words denoting tools or implements, probably became lost owing to the fact that it gave the appearance of a preterite participle (see Kluge 1989: 165). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

egilen “belästigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 117). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *eglan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 102). ON *egla* I (Lehmann 1986: 10) “to molest, offend”; Gothic *agljan* I (Lehmann 1986: 10) “to harm”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **aglijanan* “to hurt, harm, molest”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OE *egle* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 102) “troublesome; horrible, repulsive; sad”; Gothic *agls* (Lehmann 1986: 10) “schimpflich”, which exists beside Gothic *aglus* (Lehmann 1986: 10) “schwierig”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **agluz* “difficult, troublesome, horrible, repulsive”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

egisōn “erschrecken, sich entsetzen, fürchten” (Raven II 1967: 31). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *egesian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 102) “to frighten; threaten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **agesōjan* “to frighten, scare”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *egiso* (Seebold 1970: 362) “Schrecken, Furcht, Entsetzen, Greuel”; OS *egiso* (Seebold 1970: 362). OE *egesa* (Seebold 1970: 362) “awe, fear, horror, peril; monstrous thing; monster; horrible deed”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **agez* n-stem, with later devoicing of ‘z’ (Seebold 1970: 362) “fear, horror”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-, ir-*

egōn “ein Schrecken oder zum Schrecken sein” (Raven II 1967: 31). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *egī* (Lehmann 1986: 10) “Furcht, Schrecken, Strafe, Züchtigung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ēhtīgōn “reich werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 118). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ēhtīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 118) “reich, wohlhabend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**eiden* “beeiden, schwören, eidlich verpflichten, in Eid nehmen”. cf. OHG *eidōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *etha*, *eda* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1973: 97). MLG *eiden* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1973: 97). OE **eidan* I attested in *ge-æþed* pret. part. (Lehmann 1989: 20) “sworn”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **aipijan* “beeiden, schwören”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *eid* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1973: 95 “Eid”; OS *ēð* (Kluge 1989: 168) “oath”; OFs. *ēh*, *ēd* (Kluge 1989: 168) “Eide”; OE *æð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 28) “oath, (judicial) swearing”; ON *eiðr* (Kluge 1989: 168) “oath”; Gothic *aip̃s* (Kluge 1989: 168) “oath”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **aip̃az* (Kluge 1989: 168) “oath”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

eid-festinōn “der Eid, Schwur, (schwören)” (Raven II 1967: 31). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *eid* (Starck and Wells 1990: 118) “Eid, (verbindendes Versprechen, Zeugnis)”. cf. OHG *festinōn* II “mauern, festsetzen, dafürhalten”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

eidōn “büßen, Strafe wofür leiden, büßen für” (Raven II 1967: 31). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under **eiden*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

eig (attested in pl. only) *eigun* “haben, besitzen” (Seebold 1970: 1970: 69). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ēgun* pret.-pres. vb pl. (Seebold 1970: 69). OFs. *āch* pret.-pres. vb sg. (Seebold 1970: 69) “hat, besitzt”; OE *āh* pret.-pres. vb sg. (Seebold 1970: 69) “has, owns, possesses”; ON *á* pret.-pres.vb sg. (Seebold 1970: 69) “hat, besitzt”; Gothic *aih* pret.-pres. vb (Seebold 1970: 69) “hat, besitzt”. These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **aih* (Seebold 1970: 69) “besitzt”. This verb can be traced back to an IE √**aik-*, **ai-* (Seebold 1970: 1970: 69) “besitzen, zu eigen haben, vermögen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Greek αἵνυμαι (Seebold 1970: 1970: 71) “ich ergreife, fasse, nehme, ernte”; Skt *inoti* (Seebold 1970: 1970: 71) “setzt in Bewegung, erlangt, bezwingt”; Toch.B *ai-* sk-present (Seebold 1970: 1970: 71) “geben”; Hittite *pa-ai-* ‘hi’-verb (Seebold 1970: 1970: 71) “geben”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present).

eiginen “sich als Eigentum anmaßen” (Raven I 1963: 35). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the remaining Gmc languages belong to class II this verb is probably best seen as an OHG class I deverbative from the class II weak verb (see under *eiginōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

eiginōn für sich etwas beanspruchen” (Raven II 1967: 32). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *āgnian* II (Pfeifer II 1989: 336) “zu eigen machen, besitzen, beanspruchen”; ON *eigna* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 336) “sich aneignen, erwerben”; Gothic *ga-aiginon* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 336) “in Beschlag nehmen, übervorteilen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **aiganōjanan* “zu eigen machen, beanspruchen”. The verb probably derives from Gmc **aiganan* “That which is one's own or one's property”, substantivized use (see Kluge 1989: 169) of Gmc **aiganaz*, which is attested in the following: OHG *eigan* (Onions 1966: 638) “eigen, privat”; OS *ēgan* (Onions 1966: 638) “eigen, privat”; OFs. *ēgen*, *ēin* (Onions 1966: 638) “eigen, privat”; OE *āgen* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 15) “own, proper, peculiar”; ON *eiginn* (Onions 1966: 638) “eigen, eigentümlich”. **aiganaz* is in turn the past participle of preterite-present verb **aih* (see under *eig*). Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

eihhilōn “Eicheln sammeln” (Raven II 1967: 32). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *eihhila* (Starck and Wells 1990: 119) “Eichel, Schote”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

eihhōn “zueignen, zusprechen, zuerkennen, widmen, weihen, abmessen” (Raven II 1967: 32). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **aikōjan* (Seebold 1970: 72), class II deverbative from strong verb **aikanan* (Seebold 1970: 72) “zuerkennen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *eihhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 72) “beanspruchen”; Gothic *af-aikan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 72) “to deny, curse”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

einōn “vereinigen, sich vereinigen über etwas, übereinkommen, beschließen, sich vornehmen” (Raven II 1967: 32). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-ānian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 22) “to unite”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ainōjan* “to unite”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ein* (Kluge 1989: 169) “ein”; OS *ēn* (Kluge 1989: 169) “ein”; OFs. *ān* (Kluge 1989: 169) “ein”; OE *ān* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 19) “one”; ON *einn* (Kluge 1989: 169) “ein”; Gothic *ains* (Kluge 1989: 169) “one”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **ainaz* cardinal numeral adj. (Kluge 1989: 169) “ein”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

einsamōn “vereinigen” (Pfeifer I 1989: 341). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG adjective **einsam* can be reconstructed from the following: OHG *ein* cardinal numeral adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 120) “ein”; OHG *-sam* suffix (Kluge 1989: 616) “von gleicher beschaffenheit”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

eiscōn “fordern, forschen, fragen, heischen, verlangen” (Raven II 1967: 33). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ēskōn* II (Kluge 1989: 302) “fordern, fragen”; OFs. *āskia* II (Kluge 1989: 302) “fordern, fragen”; OE *āscian*, *āscian*, *āxian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 25) “to ask, inquire, seek for, demand; call, summon; examine, observe”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **aiskōjan* (Kluge 1989: 302) “fragen, fordern”. This verb is an 'sk-present' formation, which has clear parallels in the following: Skt *icchatī* (Kluge 1989: 302) “sucht, wünscht”; Lith *ieškōti* (Kluge 1989: 302) “sucht, wünscht”; OCS *iskati* (Kluge 1989: 302) “sucht, wünscht”; Latin *aeruscāre* (Kluge 1989: 302) “bitten”. The forms attested above allow us to reconstruct an IE **ais-sko-* (Kluge 1989: 302) “ich wünsche, begehre”, an 'sk-present' formation deriving ultimately from the IE *√*ais-* (Kluge 1989: 302) “suchen, bitten”, from which base the following may be derived: Skt *eṣati* retroflex 's' (Kluge 1989: 302) “sucht”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels, together with the fact that 'sk-present' formations are archaic in nature, provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, fir-, gi-, widar-*

eiten “kochen, brennen” (Raven I 1963: 35). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *eit* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1974: 234) “Scheiterhaufen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ellentōn “fern oder verbannt leben, heimatlos sein, vertreiben, gefangennehmen” (Raven II 1967: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ellenti* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 124) “fremd, ausländisch, gefangen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ellinōn “eifern, nacheifern, neidisch werden, zürnen” (Raven II 1967: 35). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *elnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 104) “to emulate, be zealous; strengthen, comfort oneself; gain strength”; ON *elna* II (de Vries 1962: 101) “stärker werden, wachsen”; Gothic *aljanōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 28) “to strive for”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **aljanōjanan* “to strengthen, strive for, have zeal”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ellen* (Lehmann 1986: 28) “Eifer, Mut, Stärke”; OS *ellian*, *ellen* (Lehmann 1986: 28). OE *ellen* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 103) “zeal, strength, courage; strife, contention”; ON *eljan* (Lehmann 1986: 28) “Mut, Kraft”; Gothic *aljan* (Lehmann 1986: 28) “zeal”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **aljanan* “strength, zeal”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

elten “aufschieben, zögern, säumen” (Raven I 1963: 35). cf. OHG *altōn* II. cf. OHG *altēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ieldan* I (Sweet 1911: 99) “to delay, tarry, put off, postpone, procrastinate”; ON *eldask* I, reflex. development secondary (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 125) “to age”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **aldijanan* “to make old, age, delay, postpone”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *alt* (Kluge 1989: 22) “alt”; OS *ald* (Kluge 1989: 22); OFs. *ald* (Kluge 1989: 22) “alt”; OE *eald* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 93) “old, aged, ancient, antique”; ON *ellri*, *eldri* comp.adj. (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 125) “elder”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **aldaz* (Kluge 1989: 22) “alt”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

emizzigōn “eifrig handeln, einhalten, beständig treiben, ununterbrochen tun oder üben” (Raven II 1967: 35). cf. OHG *ir-emizzigēn* III (Raven II 1967: 210). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *emizzig* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 125) “beständig, ununterbrochen, dauernd”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

emezōn “nachsinnen” (Raven II 1967: 35). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *emiz* (Schade I 1882: 133) “beständig, fortwährend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

engen “bedrängen, doppelten, beengen, ängstigen, kränken, quälen” (Raven I 1963: 3). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *engen* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1974: 283). OE **engan* I attested in *ge-enged* pret. part. (Pfeifer I 1989: 359) “anxious”; ON *øngja*, *øngva* I (Lehmann 1986: 9) “drängen, zwingen, klemmen”; Gothic *ga-aggwjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 9) “to oppress”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **ang(w)ijanan* “eng machen, beengen, bedrängen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *engi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 126) “eng, schmal, klein”; OS *engi* (Kluge 1989: 178) “eng”; OE *enge* (Kluge 1989: 178) “narrow, restricted, tight”; ON *ongr*, *øngr* (Kluge 1989: 178) “eng”; Gothic *aggwus* (Kluge 1989: 178) “narrow”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **angjuz*, *angwuz*, these representing variants from an older **anguz* (Kluge 1989: 178) “eng”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*

entōn “beenden, vollziehen, beendigen” (Raven II 1967: 35). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *endōn* II (de Vries 1962: 102). OFs. *endia* II (de Vries 1962: 102). OE *endian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 105) “to end, finish; abolish, destroy”; ON *enda* II (de Vries 1962: 102) “enden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **andijōjanan* “to end, finish”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *enti* (Starck and Wells 1990: 126) “Ende, Rand, Grenze, Stirn”; OS *endi* (Kluge 1989: 178) “Ende, Rand, Grenze”; OFs. *enda* (Kluge 1989: 178) “Ende, Rand, Grenze”; OE *ende* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 104) “end, conclusion; boundary, border, limit; death”; ON *endi(r)* (Kluge 1989: 178) “Ende”; Gothic *andeis* (Kluge 1989: 178) “end”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **andijaz* (Kluge 1989: 178) “Ende”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *folla-fir-*, *gi-*

erben “erben” (Raven I 1963: 35). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *erven* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 352) “erben”; OE *ierfan*, *irfan*, *yrfan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 352) “to inherit, possess; leave (by will); honour with a funeral feast”; ON *erfa* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 352) “erben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **arbijanan* “to inherit”. cf. OFs. *ervia* II (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 352). The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *erbi* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 353) “Erbe, Erbteil”; OS *erbi* (Kluge 1989: 183) “Erbe”; OFs. *erve* (Kluge 1989: 183) “Erbe”; OE *i(e)rfe*, *yrfē* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 203) “inheritance, property, heritage, bequest; cattle”; ON *erfi* (Kluge 1989: 183) “Leichenfeier, Erbe”; Gothic *arbi* (Kluge 1989: 183) “inheritance”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **arbijan* (Kluge 1989: 183) “Erbe”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*

ēren “ehren” (Raven I 1963: 35). As cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong to the class II and class III verb, this verb is probably best seen as an OHG class I deverbative from the class II or class III weak verb (see under *ērōn* and *ērān*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ērēn “ehren, verehren, preisen, durch äußere Zeichen Ehre erweisen, auszeichnen, Ansehen erregen, zu Ansehen bringen, auszeichnend behandeln, beschenken, durch ein Geschenk auszeichnen, hochachten, verherrlichen, heilig verehren, feiern, anbeten, schonen, begabt” (Raven II 1967: 210). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ārian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 24) “to honour, respect; endow; regard, care for, favour, be merciful to, spare, pardon”; ON *eira* III (de Vries 1962: 97) “schonen, nachgeben; nützen, gefallen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **aizējanan* “to honour, respect”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ēra* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 346) “Ansehen, Wertschätzung, Geltung, Ruhm, Würde, Achtung, Verehrung”; OS *ēra* (Kluge 1989: 166) “Ehre, Würde, Verehrung”; OFs. *ere* (Kluge 1989: 166) “Ehre”; OE *ār* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 23) “honour, worth, dignity, glory, respect, reverence; grace, favour; mercy, pity”; ON *eir* (Kluge 1989: 166) “Gnade, Milde, Hilfe”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **aizō* (Kluge 1989: 166) “Achtung”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

**ergen* “schlecht machen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *ergen* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 390) “schlecht machen”; OE *ge-iergan*, *ge-yrgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 203) “to make cowardly, terrify, dishearten, dismay”; ON *ergjask* reflex. ‘-sk’ development secondary (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 390) “schwach, kraftlos werden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **argijanan* “to make weak, timid, cowardly, wretched, vile”. cf. OFs. *ergia* II (de Vries 1962: 104). The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *arg* (Kluge 1989: 38) “feige, träge, unzüchtig, geil, verderbt, schlecht, böse”; OFs. *erg* (Kluge 1989: 38). OE *earg* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 97) “slothful, sluggish, inert, weak, timid, cowardly; evil, wretched, vile, craven”; ON *argr* (Kluge 1989: 38) “feige, unmännlich, unsittlich”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **argaz* (Kluge 1989: 38) “weak, timid, cowardly, wretched, vile”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ermen “verarmen, bedrücken, jemanden in Armut bringen, jemanden in Not und Bedrängnis bringen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 133). cf. OHG *armēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ierman*, *irman* I (Sweet 1911: 99) “to ill-treat, harass”; ON *erma* I (Fritzner I 1954: 351) “für unglücklich halten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **armijanan* “verarmen, bedrücken”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *arm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 34) “gering, unwürdig, arm, schwach, machtlos, elend”; OS *arm*

(Kluge 1989: 40) “arm, elend”; OFs. *erm* (Kluge 1989: 40) “arm, elend”; OE *earm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 96) “poor, miserable, pitiful, helpless, wretched”; ON *armr* (Kluge 1989: 40) “arm, unglücklich”; Gothic *arms* (Kluge 1989: 40) “poor, miserable”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **armaz* (Kluge 1989: 40) “arm, elend”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

ērōn “anbeten, ehren, preisen, loben, kultisch verehren, (einem Gotte) huldigen, sich entsetzen” (Raven II 1967: 36). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ērōn* II (de Vries 1962: 97) “ehren”; OFs. *ēria* II (de Vries 1962: 97) “ehren”; OE *ārian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 24) “to honour, respect; endow; regard, care for, favour, be merciful to, spare, pardon”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **aizōjanan* “to honour, respect”. For nominal base see under *ērēn*. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

erren “pflügen, ackern, durchackern, hervorbringen” (Raven I 1963: 36). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *era* I (Seebold 1970: 82) “to plough”; OE *erian* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1976: 395) “to plough”; ON *erja* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1976: 395) “pflügen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **arjanan* (Seebold 1970: 82) “to plough”, class I weak deverbative from strong verb **arjanan* (Seebold 1970: 82) “to plough”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *ir-erien* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 132) “pflügen, ackern”; Gothic *arjan* st. vb (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1976: 395) “to plough”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

ēwen “etwas ewig dauern lassen” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1976: 459). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. Gothic *us-aiwjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 22) “to exert oneself, strive always”. This is probably an independant formation from Gothic *aiws* (Lehmann 1986: 22) “time, eternity”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ēwa* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1976: 453) “Ewigkeit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ezzen “abweiden lassen, essen machen, = fressen” (Raven I 1963: 292). cf. OHG *azōn* II. cf. OHG *frezzen* I. The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *etta* I (Seebold 1970: 180) “weiden”; OE *ettan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 108) “to graze, pasture land”; ON *etja* I (Seebold 1970: 180) “ätzen, essen lassen, anspornen, reizen, hetzen”; Gothic **atjan* I, can be reconstructed from *fra-atjan* I (Kluge 1989: 46) “zum Essen austeilen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **atejanan* (Seebold 1970: 180) “essen lassen, beißen lassen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **etanan* (Seebold 1970: 179) “essen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *ezzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 179) “essen”; OS *etan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 179) “essen”; OFs. *īta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 179) “essen”; OE *etan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 108) “to eat, consume, devour; feed”; ON *eta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 179) “essen, fressen, aufzehren”; Gothic *itan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 179) “to eat”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

F

fadamōn “einfädeln, nähen” (Raven II 1967: 36). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fæðmian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 111) “to surround, envelop, clasp, embrace”; ON *faðma* II (Fritzner I 1954:364) “umarmen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **faþmōjanan* “to embrace; (OHG only) to sew”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under **fadimen*). Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**fadimen* “umarmen, als Erben an Kindes Statt annehmen”. cf. OHG *fadamōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fæðman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 111) “to surround, envelop, clasp, embrace”; ON *feðma* I (Fritzner I 1954: 397) “umarmen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **faþmijanan* “to embrace”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fadum, fadam* (Kluge 1989: 198) “Garn, Klafter”; OS *faðmos* pl. (Kluge 1989: 198) “Klafter”; OFs. *fethem* (Kluge 1989: 198) “Klafter”; OE *fæðm* (Kluge 1989: 198) “outstretched or encircling arms, embrace, grasp; protection; interior, bosom, lap, breast, womb; fathom, cubit; power; expanse, surface”; ON *faðmr* (Kluge 1989: 198) “Klafter, Arme, Umarmung”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **faþmaz* (Kluge 1989: 198) “(1) Umarmung, (2) Klafter, (3) Faden (nur deutsch)”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fagēn “willfahren” (Raven II 1967: 211). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **fagējan* (Seebold 1970: 189), class III deverbative from strong verb **-fehanan* (Seebold 1970: 189) “sich freuen”: OHG *-fehan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 189). OE *fēon* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 115) “to be glad, rejoice, exult”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

faginōn, feginōn “sich freuen” (Raven II 1967: 36). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *faganōn* II (Seebold 1970: 189). OE *fægnian* II (Seebold 1970: 189) “to rejoice, be glad, exult, applaud”; Gothic *faginōn* II (Seebold 1970: 189) “to rejoice”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fagenōjanan* II (Seebold 1970: 189) class II deadjectival verb formed from **fagenaz*, preterite participle of strong verb **-fehanan* (Seebold 1970: 189) “sich freuen” (see under *fehōn*). Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

fagōn “beistehen, Angenehmes erweisen, willfahren, kosen” (Raven II 1967: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gifag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 205) “zufrieden, zugeneigt, reich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fackalen “Fackeln machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fackala* (Starck and Wells 1990: 137) “Fackel, Kienfackel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb

falawēn “fahl werden oder sein, sich entfärben, Tagesanbruch” (Raven II 1967: 211). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fealwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 112) “to become fallow, fade, wither; grow yellow, ripen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **falwējan* “to become pale or fallow”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *falo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 139) “fahl, falb, rotgelb, braungelb”; OS *falū* (Kluge 1989: 198) “fahl”; OE *fealu* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 112) “fallow, yellow, tawny, dun-coloured, grey, dusky, dark”; ON *folr* (Kluge

1989: 198) “bleich, fahl”; Run. Swed. *faluan* acc. sg. masc. (de Vries 1962: 150). We can therefore reconstruct a NWGmc **falwaz* (Kluge 1989: 198) “fahl”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

falawiscōn “glühen, die Glut, (übtr.) brünstig oder leidenschaftlich sein” (Raven II 1967: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *falawisca* (Starck and Wells 1990: 137) “glühende Asche, Ruß, Funke”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fallezen “zusammenfallen, zusammenbrechen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 139). cf. OHG *fellen* I; OHG *ana-fallōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *feallattan* I (Seebold 1970: 182) “to fall down”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fallatjan* (Seebold 1970: 182) intensive deverbative from strong verb **fallanan* (Seebold 1970: 181) “fallen” (see under *fellen*). Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

falsken “widerlegen, entfernen, beseitigen, erwägen, berechnen, dämpfen, niederhalten” (Raven I 1963: 37). cf. OHG *falscōn* II. No cognate verbs are attested. As OHG class II verbs were generally used in loan translations of Latin verbs in *-āre*, it is more likely that the class II verb *falscōn* represents the original loan verb from Vulgar Latin **fals(i)cāre* (Pfeifer I 1989: 406) “to falsify”, and that *falsken* is a class I deverbative from *falscōn*. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

falscōn “fälschen, verfälschen, treulos machen” (Raven II 1967: 37). cf. OHG *falsken* I. No cognate verbs are attested. < Vulgar Latin **fals(i)cāre* (Pfeifer I 1989: 406) shortened form of Late Latin *falsificāre* (Pfeifer I 1989: 406) “to falsify, make false” (*falsus* (Pfeifer I 1989: 406) “false, incorrect” + *facere* (Pfeifer I 1989: 406) “to make, do”). Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

faltōn “zusammenfalten, zusammenschlagen, auseinanderbinden, verketten” (Raven II 1967: 37). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *falda* II (Seebold 1970: 184) “falten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **faldōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 184) class II deverbative from strong verb **falpanan* (Seebold 1970: 183) “falten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *faldan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 183) “falten, zusammenfalten, aufrollen”; OE *fealdan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 112) “to fold, wrap up, furl, entangle; roll about”; ON *falda* st. vbI (Seebold 1970: 183) “(eine Kopfbedeckung) aufsetzen”; Gothic *faiƿalþ* st. vb reduplicating preterite (Seebold 1970: 183) “rollte zusammen”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

falzen “falzen, stützen, unterstützen, krümmen, aufrechterhalten” (Raven I 1963: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **faldatjan* intensive deverbative from strong verb **falpanan* (Seebold 1970: 183) “falten” (see under *faltōn*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *untar-*

fangōn “antreiben, quälen, stacheln” (Raven II 1967: 37). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *fangia* II (Seebold 1970: 185) “fangen”; OE *fangian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 112) “to join, fasten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fangōjan* (Seebold 1970: 185) class II deverbative from strong verb **fanhanan* (Seebold 1970: 185) “fangen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *fāhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 185) “fangen, ergreifen”; OS *fāhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 185) “fangen, ergreifen”; OFs. *fā* st. vb, with loss of medial ‘h’ and subsequent contraction (Seebold 1970: 185) “fangen”; OE *fōn* st. vb, with loss of medial ‘h’ (Clark Hall and

Meritt 1969: 124) “to take, grasp, seize, catch, capture, receive, accept, assume, undertake”; ON *fá* st. vb, with loss of medial ‘h’ and subsequent contraction (Seebold 1970: 185) “fangen, nehmen, heiraten”; Gothic *fahan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 186) “fangen, greifen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*, *gi-furi-*, *ubar-*

fantōn “durchforschen, untersuchen, fahnden, zu finden suchen, einwickeln, betrügen, rede-gewandt” (Raven II 1967: 38). cf. OHG *funden* I; OHG **fundōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fandōn* II (Seebold 1970: 194) “versuchen, nachstellen, heimsuchen”; OFs. *fandia* II (Seebold 1970: 194). OE *fandian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 111) “to try, attempt, tempt, test, examine, explore, search out, experience, visit”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fandōjan* (Seebold 1970: 194) class II deverbative from strong verb **fenþanan* (Seebold 1970: 193) “finden”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *findan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 193) “finden, gewinnen, ersinnen, empfinden; sich befinden”; OS *findan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 193) “finden, begegnen, wahrnehmen”; OFs. *finda* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 193) “finden, erfinden, weisen”; OE *findan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 119) “to find, meet with; discover, obtain by search or study, recover; provide; consider, devise, arrange, dispose, decide; show, inform”; ON *finna* st. vb, with assimilation of ‘þ’ (Seebold 1970: 193) “finden, ersinnen, aufsuchen, verschaffen; wahrnehmen, erfahren, erkennen”; Gothic *finþan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 193) “erkennen, erfahren”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

farawen “färben, einen Glanz verleihen, schminken, beflecken, übertünchen, aufputzen” (Raven I 1963: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *farawa* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1978: 619) “Farbe, Farbstoff; Aussehen, Gestalt”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *zwiror-gi-*

**fāren* “nachstellen, gefährden”. MHG *vāren* (Lexer III 1878: 22) “nachstellen, gefährden”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *for-fēra* I (de Vries 1962: 149) “erschrecken”; OE *fēran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 110) “to frighten”; ON *fēra* I (de Vries 1962: 149) “schaden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fērijanan* “to frighten, put in danger”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fāra* (Schade I 1882: 161) “Nachstellung, Betrug, Lauer, Gefährdung, Gefahr, Streben”; OS *fār* (Schade I 1882: 161) “Nachstellung”; OE *fār* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 109) “calamity, sudden danger, peril; terrible sight; sudden attack”; ON *fār* (Lehmann 1986: 112) “Feindschaft, Gefahr, Schade, Falschheit”. cf. Gothic *ferja* (Lehmann 1986: 112) “spy”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fēraz*, **fēran*, **ferō* “Nachstellung, Gefahr”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

fārēn “(+dat. pers. et gen. rei vel pers.) auflauern, jemandem nachstellen, gegen jemandes Leben konspirieren, steinigen, auf der Lauer sein, Böses im Sinne haben gegen, wonach trachten oder streben, worauf achten, Rücksicht nehmen auf, sich worauf einlassen, die Frage richten, jemandem etwas nachtragen” (Raven II 1967: 212). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fārōn* II (Schade I 1882: 162) “lauern auf”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fārējan* “auflauern”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *fāren*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

**farzōn* “furzen”. MHG *varzen* (Lexer III 1878: 27) “pedere”. The following cognate verbs are attested: Mid.Engl. *farten* (Kurath and Kuhn 3 1952: 519) “to fart”; ON *frata* II with metathesis (Seebold 1970: 195) “furzen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fartōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 195) “furzen”, class II deverbative from strong verb **fertanan* (Seebold 1970: 194) “furzen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *ferzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 195) “furzen”; OE **feortan* st. vb can possibly be reconstructed from the substantive *feorting* (Seebold 1970: 195) “farting”; ME *ferren* st. vb (Kurath and Kuhn III 1952: 519) “to fart”; ON *freta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 194) “furzen”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

fascōn “mit Heilmitteln bestreichen, binden, erweichender Umschlag, Arzneiherstellung” (Raven II 1967: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *faski, fasca* (Starck and Wells 1990: 142) “warmer Umschlag, Pflaster, Mieder”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fasōn “aufsuchen, nachspüren (eigentlich = hin- und herfahrend und zupfend suchen, wie wenn man die Fasern an Gewebtem ausziehen will)” (Raven II 1967: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fasa, faso* (Starck and Wells 1990: 142) “Faden; pl. Franse, Einschlag”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fastēn “fasten, hungern, nüchtern sein, das kirchliche Gebot halten und sich aller Übertragung enthalten, Sparsamkeit oder Nüchternheit” (Raven II 1967: 212). cf. OHG *festen* I; OHG *fastōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *festia* II (de Vries 1962: 113). OE *fæstan* I (Kluge 1989: 204) “to fasten, make firm; entrust, commit; fast, abstain from food”; ON *fasta* (Kluge 1989: 204) “fasten”; Gothic *fastan* III (Lehmann 1986: 109) “to hold, guard; fast, abstain from food”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fastējanan*. The original meaning of this verb would have been “to hold fast” (see the adjective below). In a number of the Gmc languages including OHG, however, it has the additional meaning of “to fast, abstain from food”. This latter meaning obviously derives from the former, on the basis that someone who fasts stands firm or steadfast in his abstention from food. The meaning of “to fast” may be Gmc and pre-Christian (pagan religions also involve fasting and the rituals practised by the Gmc tribes would be no exception) or it may be a semantic loan from the Christian Latin verb *iēiūnāre* (Kluge 1989: 204) “to fast, abstain from food” or, in the case of Gothic, from the Greek verb νηστεύω (Kluge 1989: 204) “I fast, abstain from food”. The verb is a deadjective formation, deriving from the following nominal base: OHG, OS *festi* ja-stem (Kluge 1989: 211) “fest”; OS *fast* (Kluge 1989: 211) “fest”; OE *fæst* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 110) “fast, fixed, firm; constant, steadfast; strong”; ON *fastr* (Kluge 1989: 211) “fest, hart, stark”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fastuz* (with secondary variant j-stem **fastja* in OHG and OS) “fast, firm, steadfast”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fatōn “füttern, an Aas oder Leichen zehren; dedere (esui sanguines... et cadaveribus mortuorum), grassari, pascere” (Raven II 1967: 39). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

fazzōn “sich rüsten, fertig machen, bereiten, auf-, beladen, sich kleiden, fassen, zusammennehmen, steigen” (Raven II 1967: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *fatia* II (de Vries 1962: 114). OE *fatian, fetian* II (Seebold 1970: 196) “to bring near, fetch, obtain; bring on; induce; marry”; ON *fata* II (Seebold 1970: 196) “den Weg finden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fatōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 196) class II deverbative from strong verb **fetanan* (Seebold 1970: 195) “fallen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *fezzan* st. vb pret. only (Seebold 1970: 195) “aufspringen, wanken, dem Fallen nahe sein”; OE *ge-fæt* pret. sg. only

(Seebold 1970: 195) “fiel (vom Samen)”; ON *feta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 195) “greifen, ergreifen; herausfinden (= verfallen auf?)”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fedelgoldōn “(vom Haupthaar) im dünne Goldblättchen verwandeln, das Haar goldlockig machen” (Raven II 1967: 39). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fedelgold* (Schade I 1882: 173) “dünn geschlagenes Gold”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fegen “abwischen, abtrocknen, rein machen” (Raven I 1963: 37). As cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is probably best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb (see under *fegōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

fegōn “reinigen, putzen” (Raven II 1967: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fegōn* II (Holthausen 1967: 18). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **fegōjan* “to cleanse, purify”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may ultimately derive from an IE (Gmc and Baltic only) $\sqrt{*pek-}$ (Pfeifer I 1989: 418) “hübsch machen, aufgeräumt oder vegnügt sein”, from which base the following may also be derived: Lith. *puošti* (Pfeifer I 1989: 418) “schmücken, putzen”; Latvian *post* (Pfeifer I 1989: 418) “schmücken”; ON *fāga* (Pfeifer I 1989: 418) “reinigen, glänzend machen, schmücken”; MDu. *vagen* (Pfeifer I 1989: 418). Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

*fēhen*¹ “beneiden, feindlich behandeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 144). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *a-fēhian* I (Lehmann 1986: 68) “to treat hostilely”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **faihijan* “to treat hostilely”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gi-fēh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 206) “feindlich, geächtet”; OFs. *fāch* (Lehmann 1986: 68) “punishable”; OE *fāh* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 111) “hostile; proscribed, outlawed, guilty, criminal”; Gothic **faihs* “hostile; outlawed, guilty”, which can be reconstructed from the class II derived verb *ga-faihon* II (Lehmann 1986: 680 “to take advantage of, defraud”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fai haz* “hostile, outlawed, guilty”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

*fēhen*² “verschieden färben, verzieren, bunt machen, trennen, unterscheiden” (Raven I 1963: 38). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fāgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 109) “to paint”; ON *fá* (de Vries 1962: 108) “malen, schmücken”; Run Norw *faihiðo* (de Vries 1962: 108). We can therefore reconstruct a NWGmc **faihijanan* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 679) “to shine, glitter, vary”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fēh* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 676) “verschiedenfarbig, bunt, gefleckt, zierlich”; OS *fēh* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 676). OE *fāg* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 676) “coloured, stained, dyed, tinged, shining, variegated”; ON *fār* (de Vries 1962: 207) “bunt, gefärbt”; Gothic *filu-faihs* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 676) “many-coloured, manifold”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fai haz* “colourful, many-coloured, bright”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb

fehōn “essen, verzehren” (Raven II 1967: 39). cf. OHG *faginōn*, *feginōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-fehōn* II (Seebold 1970: 189). OE *fēan* II (Seebold 1970: 189) “sich freuen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fehōjan* (Seebold 1970: 189) class II deverbative from strong verb **-fehanan* (Seebold 1970: 189) “sich freuen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *gi-fehan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 189) “sich freuen”; ON *-fegenn* st. vb preterite

participle, but possibly wk vb belonging to above group (Seebold 1970: 189). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*

feihnōn “Betrügerei treiben” (Raven II 1967: 39). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *feihhan* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 144) “trügerisch, hinterlistig”; OHG *feihhan* subst. (Starck and Wells 1990: 144) “böswillige Täuschung, Betrug”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival / denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

feilōn “wertachten, nach einem Werte schätzen” (Raven II 1967: 39). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *feili* (Starck and Wells 1990: 144) “verkäuflich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

feimen “schäumen” (Raven I 1963: 38). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fēman* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 694) “to foam, froth”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **faimijan* “to foam”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *feim* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 693) “Schaum, Meeresschaum, Gischt”; OE *fām*, *fēm* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 693) “foam; sea”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **faimaz* “foam”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

feimigōn “(mit Schaum) beflecken” (Raven II 1967: 40). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **feimig* “schaumig”, which can be reconstructed from: OE *fāmig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 111) “foamy”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

feiziten “mästen” (Raven I 1963: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *feiz(i)t* (Kluge 1989: 208) “fett, wohlgenährt, dick”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

feiztēn “feist oder fett werden” (Raven II 1967: 212). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see *feiziten*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

felgen “aneignen, berauben, entleiden, fluchen, erkennen, beilegen” (Raven I 1963: 36). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *felgian* II (Seebold 1970: 192) “auferlegen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **falgejan* (Seebold 1970: 192) deverbative formation from strong verb **felhanan* (Seebold 1970: 191) “eindringen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *fel(a)han* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 192) “aufschütten, aufbewahren, begraben, anvertrauen, empfehlen”; OS *bi-fel(a)han* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 192) “befehlen”; OFs. *be-fela* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 192) “befehlen, bestatten”; OE *fēolan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 192) “to cleave, be joined to, adhere; enter, penetrate, pass into; betake oneself to; undergo; persevere in”; ON *fela* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 191) “verbergen, eintauchen, aufheben, bestimmen; übergeben”; Gothic *filhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 192) “verbergen, begraben”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *zuo-gi-*

fellen “vergießen, vergeuden, hinstrecken, bestreuen, zu Boden strecken, verdrängen, täuschen” (Raven I 1963: 38). cf. OHG *fallezzēn* I; cf. OHG *ana-fallōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fellian* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 724) “fällen”; OFs. *fella* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 724) “fällen”; OE *fellan*, *fyllan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III

1979: 724) “to cause to fall, fell, cut or throw down, strip off, destroy”; ON *fella* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 724) “fällen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fallejanan* (Seebold 1970: 182) “to fell, make fall”, causative deverbative from strong verb **fallanan* (Seebold 1970: 181) “fallen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *fallan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 181) “fallen, stürzen, umkommen”; OS *fallan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 181) “fallen, stürzen, zugrunde gehen”; OFs. *falla* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 181) “fallen, sich flüchten, sich ereignen”; OE *feallan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 112) “to fall, fail, decay, die; inflict (on), attack; flow”; ON *fallan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 181) “fallen, im Kampf fallen: strömen, sich ergießen, berauben, überfallen”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *untar-*, *zi(r)-*

**ferah-habēn*, *ferah-habēnti* “beseelt; animatus” (Starck and Wells 1990: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *ferah* (Starck and Wells 1990: 147) “Ferch, Leben”. cf. OHG *habēn* III “haben, halten, ergreifen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (occurring only in present participle form and probably used to gloss Latin *animatus*).

fergōn “(+ gen. rei et acc. pers.) bitten, erbitten, fordern, anrufen, nötigen” (Raven II 1967: 40). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fergōn* II (Seebold 1970: 209). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **fergōjan* (Seebold 1970: 209), this an intensive deverbative with the variant grade **ferg-*, from the strong verb **fregnanan* (Seebold 1970: 208) “fragen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *ga-fregin* st. vb pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 208). OS *fragn* st. vb pret. sg. (Seebold 1970: 208). OE *fregnan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 208) “to ask, inquire”; ON *fregna* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 208) “fragen”; Gothic *fraihnan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 208) “fragen”. Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ferren “fählen, führen, schiffen, mit dem Kahn fahren” (Raven I 1963: 293). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ferrian* I (Kluge 1989: 199). OFs. *feria* I (Kluge 1989: 199). OE *feri(g)an* levelling to class II (Kluge 1989: 199) “to carry, convey, bring; depart, go”; ON *ferja* I (Kluge 1989: 199) “ziehen, fahren”; Gothic *farjan* I (Kluge 1989: 199) “zur See reisen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **farejanan* (Kluge 1989: 199) “übersetzen”, causative of strong verb **faranan* (Kluge 1989: 199) “fahren”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *faran* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 199) “fahren”; OS *faran* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 199) “fahren”; OFs. *fara* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 199). OE *faran* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 199) “to set forth, go, travel, wander, proceed; fare, get on, undergo, suffer; happen”; ON *fara* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 199) “fahren, gehen, reisen; geschehen; verlieren”; Gothic *faran* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 199) “to wander, travel”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *missi*, *nāh-*, *ubar-*

ferrēn “fern sein, sich entfernen” (Raven II 1967: 212). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *feorrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 116) “to keep apart; depart”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ferējan* “to be far (away)”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *firren*). Therefore a WGmc deadverbial formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

feselān “fruchtbar werden” (Raven II 1967: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **fesil* “fruchtbar”, which can be reconstructed from: MHG *vesel* (Lexer III 1976: 325) “fruchtbar”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

festen “befestigen, fest machen” (Raven I 1963: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *festian* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 763). OFs. *festā* I (de Vries 1962: 118). OE *fæstan* I

originally class III (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 763) “to fasten, make fast or firm, entrust, commit, commend”; ON *fasta* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 763) “festmachen, verloben, verstimmen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fastijanan* “to fasten, make fast”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *festinōn*). Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *giwar-*, *ir-*

festinōn “fest oder beständig machen, festsetzen, beweisen, begründen, befestigen, bekräftigen, stärken, versprechen” (Raven II 1967: 40). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *festi* (Kluge 1989: 211) “fest” < **fastjaz* “fest”. Compare the parallel developments with lack of umlaut: OS *fastnōn* II (Schade I 1884: 170). OE *fæstnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 111) “to fasten, fix, secure, bind; confirm, ratify, conclude (peace); betroth; bestow upon, secure for”; ON *fastna* (de Vries 1962: 113) “feierlich geloben, besonders ein Weib”. These deriving from **fastuz* (Kluge 1989: 211) “fest”, the form occurring in: OS *fast* (Kluge 1989: 211) “fest”; OE *fæst* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 110) “fast, fixed, firm; constant, steadfast; strong”; ON *fastr* (Kluge 1989: 211) “fest, hart, stark”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with n-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *gi-*, *umbi-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

fettāhhōn “geflügelt, d.h. gefitticht sein, mit Flügeln versehen” (Raven II 1967: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fettāh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 149) “Flügel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fezzarōn “fesseln” (Raven II 1967: 41). The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *veteren* (de Vries 1962: 127). OE *ge-feterian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 117) “to fetter, bind”; ON *ffotra* II (de Vries 1962: 127) “fesseln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **feturōjanan* “to fetter, bind”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fezzara* (Kluge 1989: 211) “Fußschlinge, Fußfessel”; OS *feteros* pl. (Kluge 1989: 211). OE *fetor* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 117) “fetter, shackle; check, restrain”; ON *ffoturr* (Kluge 1989: 211) “Fessel”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **feturaz* (Kluge 1989: 211) “Fessel”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

fiantscaffōn “neidisch oder feindselig sein, verfeinden” (Raven II 1967: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fiantscaf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 150) “Feindseligkeit, Haß, Zwist”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fideren “Federn bekommen, mit Federn versehen, flügge werden” (Raven I 1963: 40). No cognate verbs are attested, but cf. OE *fīderian* II (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1980: 800) “to give wings to, provide with wings”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fedara* (Kluge 1989: 206) “Feder”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fīen “hassen, auf jemanden herabwünschen” (Raven II 1967: 213). cf. OHG *figidōn*, *fiadōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fēogan*, *fēon* (Lehmann 1986: 114) “to hate, persecute”; ON *ffjá* (Lehmann 1986: 114) “hassen”; Gothic *fijan* III (Lehmann 1986: 114) “to hate”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fijējanan* “to hate”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*pē(i)-}$, $*pē-$ (Pokorny I 1959: 792) “weh tun, beschädigen, schmähen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *pīyati* (Pokorny I 1959: 792) “schmäht, höhnt”; Greek $\pi\eta\mu\alpha$ (Pokorny I 1959: 792) “Verderben, Leid”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

fieren “wechseln, schwärzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 150). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fiera* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1980: 802) “Seite, Richtung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-gi-*, *gi-*, *ūz-*

figidōn, *fiadōn* “hassen, neidisch werden” (Raven II 1967: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **fjadōjan* “to hate with zeal” (with interchange of intervocalic glides *g* and *j* in OHG). The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is a dental extension which can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*pēi-}$, $*p̥-$ (see under *fīen*). As attested forms of the verb are confined to OHG and as none of the forms attested in the above IE languages are formed with an extension, this verb must be regarded as a later 'd'-extension formation. The verb cannot, therefore, be regarded as pre-Gmc. Therefore an OHG verb (formed with d-extension), the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

fillen “schlagen, peitschen, geißeln, enthäuten, entrinden” (Raven I 1963: 40). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fillian* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1980: 822). OFs. *filla* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1980: 822). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **fellijan* “to whip, flay, skin”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fel*, genitive *felles* (< **pelnos*) (Pokorny I 1956: 803) “Haut, Fell”; OS *fell* (Kluge 1957: 191) “Haut, Fell”; OFs. *filmene* (Pokorny I 1956: 803) “Haut”; OE *fell* (Kluge 1957: 191) “skin, hide, fell”; ON *fall* (Kluge 1957: 191) “Fell, Haut”; Gothic *faura-filli* (Kluge 1957: 191) “foreskin”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fellan* (Kluge 1957: 191) “Haut von Mensch und Tier”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*, *aba-gi-*, *bi-*, *gi-*,

fīlōn, *fīhalōn*, *fīgīlōn* “glatt feilen, polieren, gestalten, feilartig gezahnt” (Raven II 1967: 42). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fēolian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 115) “to file”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fīlōjan* “to file”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fīla*, *fīhala* *fīgala* (Starck and Wells 1990: 151) “Feile”; OS *fīla* (Kluge 1989: 208) “Feile”; OE *fēol* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 115) “file”; ON *pāl* with probable change of *f* to *p* (Kluge 1989: 208) “Feile”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fīlō* (Kluge 1989: 208) “to file”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*, *untar-*

filo-sagēn “weitschweifig sein” (Raven II 1967: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *filo*, *filu* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 152) “viel, sehr, häufig, heftig, weit”. cf. OHG *sagēn* III (Raven II 1967: 249) “sagen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

filosprehhōn, *filusprehhōn* “öffentlich vortragen oder verkünden” (Raven II 1967: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *filusprāhhi* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 152) “weitläufig, prahlerisch, zänkisch”. This deverbative has undergone a change of *a* to *e*, probably by analogy with the strong verb **sp(r)ehhan* (Kluge 1989: 690) “sprechen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

fīnstarēn “dunkel oder finster werden” (Raven II 1967: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *fīnsteren*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

fīnsteren “finster machen” (Raven I 1963: 40). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fīnstar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 154) “finster, dunkel, voll Finsternis, dicht belaubt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

fioleggōn “viereckig machen, passend zurichten” (Raven II 1967: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fioleggi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 154) “viereckig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

fiorfaltōn “vervierfachen” (Raven II 1967: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fiorfalt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 154) “vierfältig, vierteilig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

fiorōn “zu vieren verbinden, vieren, in vier teilen” (Raven II 1967: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fior* cardinal numeral (Kluge 1989: 766) “vier”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

fir-āhten “vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 2). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-altēn “zu alt und dadurch mürbe, morsch oder faul werden (z.B. von Bäumen)” (Raven II 1967: 203). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-ealdian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 126) “to grow old, decay”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-berren, *fir-berien* “schwächen, entkräften, abnutzen”. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-bilidōn “umgestalten, überführen, verwandeln” (Raven II 1967: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-bluhhen “verbrennen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-bluoen “verbrennen, verblühen” (Raven I 1963: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-bōsōn “verdrehen, beschähigen, schwere Verluste beibringen, schwächen, dem Pferde die Fußsehne durchschneiden” (Raven II 1967: 21). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-brasēn “verdammen” (Raven II 1967: 207). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

fir-brennen “verbrennen, verschlingen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 14). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *ur-barna* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1359) “verbrennen”; OE *for-bærnan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1359) “to burn, consume”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-brieven “öffentlich bekanntmachen, ächten” (Raven I 1963: 15). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-brūhhen “abfallen, ermatten” (Raven I 1963: 20). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-bruoēn “verbrennen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 81). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-brutten “verzehren” (Raven I 1963: 21). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-dagēn “einem etwas verschweigen, unsagbar, unsäglich, unerhört” (Raven II 1967: 207). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-damnōn “verurteilen, verdammen” (Raven II 1967: 24). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *damnāre* (Kluge 1989: 757) “to codemen, ecclesiastical specialization to damn”. Therefore an OHG loan verb (formed with prefix *fir-*).

fir-dempfen “ersticken” (Raven I 1963: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-denken “verachten, geringschätzen” (Raven I 1963: 26). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-pencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 133) “to misthink, disdain, despise, distrust, despair”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-dennen “ausdehnen, ausspannen, verbreiten, richten auf” (Raven I 1963: 289). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-derren “vertrocknen, verwelken” (Raven I 1963: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-dewen, fir-douwen “verdauen, (von den Eingeweiden) heraustreten, auf dem natürlichen Wege ausscheiden, in den Magen gelangen” (Raven I 1963: 291). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-thewian* I (Kluge 1989: 758) “verdauen, verschmelzen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

fir-dilōn “aufheben, vernichten, töten, vertilgen” (Raven II 1967: 26). < OE *for-dilegian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 125) “to blot out, destroy, abolish”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

fir-dingen “anrufen, nennen, heranzuführen, erwarten, hoffen” (Raven I 1963: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-dingōn “appellieren, öffentlich bekanntmachen” (Raven II 1967: 26). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-pingian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 134) “to arrange for a man's 'wergild'”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furdir-*

fir-dionōn “verdienen, durch Dienst verdient machen” (Raven II 1967: 27). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-dolēn “aushalten, ertragen, erdulden, geschehen lassen” (Raven II 1967: 209). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fir-polian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 134) “to go without, lack”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-dorrēn “verdorren” (Raven II 1967: 210). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-dōsen “ganz zugrunde richten, völlig verderben” (Raven I 1963: 30). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-drucken “zusammendrücken, drücken, hemmen, eindrücken” (Raven I 1963: 31). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-bryccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 134) “to press, squeeze, crush, oppress, suppress”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-dūhen “unterdrücken, bedrücken, untertätig machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-dulten “erdulden” (Raven I 1963: 33). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-dwengen “bezwingen, zwingen” (Raven I 1963: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-dwesben “verderben, vertilgen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-ebben “(vom Zorn) sich legen oder beschwichtigen” (Raven I 1963: 292). The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *ver-ebben* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1971: 28) “verebben”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-einen “beabsichtigen, sich fest vornehmen” (Raven I 1963: 35). cf. OHG *einōn* II. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class I).

fir-eiscōn “erheischen, erfordern” (Raven II 1967: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-engen “bedrängen” (Raven I 1963: 3). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-entōn “vollenden, gänzlich beenden, sich endigen, ganz zu Ende kommen, sterben, [beiseite drängen, ausweichen machen]” (Raven II 1967: 35). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *folla-*

fir-ermen “verarmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 133). The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *ver-ermen* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1976: 423) “verarmen”; OE *for-ierman*, *for-irman* I (Sweet 1911: 64) “to reduce to poverty”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-fehōn “verzehren, büßen, hinwegraffen, verhungern” (Raven II 1967: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-fehōn* II (Seebold 1970: 189) “verzehren”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-firren “entfremden” (Raven I 1963: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-fluohhōn “verfluchen, den Bann vollstrecken” (Raven II 1967: 45). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-fülēn “(ver)faulen” (Raven II 1967: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-fuoren “verführen, auswandern, versetzen” (Raven I 1963: 49). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-fēran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 128) “to go or pass away, depart, die, perish”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-galōn “bezaubern” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **-galōjan* (Seebold 1970: 212) class II deverbative from strong verb **galanan* (Seebold 1970: 212) “singen” (see under *bi-galōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *fir-*).

fir-giften “vergiften, (bei Auktionen) zuschlagen, verkaufen, übertragen, zuerkennen” (Raven I 1963: 57). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-gihten “gelähmt, gichtbrüchig” (Raven I 1963: 57). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fir-giht* (Pfeifer I 1989: 568) “gichtbrüchig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival preterite participle construction.

fir-gihtigōn “gichtbrüchig oder gelähmt sein” (Raven II 1967: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-goumalōsōn “vernachlässigen” (Raven II 1967: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *goumalōsī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 236) “Unachtsamkeit, Vernachlässigung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb formed with prefix *fir-*.

fir-grintilōn “verriegeln” (Raven II 1967: 57). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *grintil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 240) “Riegel, Stange, Querbalken”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *fir-*).

fir-haben “sich die Ohren zuhalten, verhalten, versperren” (Raven I 1963: 303). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-habēn “ertragen, sich (die Ohren) zuhalten, Enthaltsamkeit, Fasten” (Raven II 1967: 222). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-habban* III (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 129) “to hold in, restrain, retain, keep back, draw back, refrain from, avoid”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-hazzēn “abtrünnig werden” (Raven II 1967: 228). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-heiēn “durch Hitze ausgetrocknet oder (innerlich) verdorrt sein” (Raven II 1967: 228). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-heilēn “heil werden, verheilen” (Raven II 1967: 228). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-hellen “umhüllen, verhehlen, umschleiern” (Raven I 1963: 304). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-hengen “erlauben, zugeben” (Raven I 1963: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-heriōn, *fir-herrōn* “verheeren, verderben, unterjochen” (Raven II 1967: 66). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-hergian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 129) “to plunder, harry, ravage, devastate, destroy”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-herten “ausdauern, aushalten, auf etwas bestehen, fest beschließen” (Raven I 1963: 70). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-hyrdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 130) “to harden against, to harden”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-hintaren “verhindern, jemandem betrügen oder hintergehen, etwas unterschlagen, täuschen, beeinträchtigen” (Raven I 1963: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-hogēn “verschmähen” (Schützeichel 1969: 85). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-hogian* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 129) “to neglect, disregard, despise”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-huggen “verachten” (Raven I 1963: 306). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-hycgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 130) “to disdain, despise, reject”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-hunden “gefangen nehmen, in Gefangenschaft führen” (Raven I 1963: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **fra-hunþjan* class I deverbative from **fra-henþanan* “gefangen nehmen” prefix formation from strong verb **henþanan* (Seebold 1970: 255) “fangen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OSwed. *hinna* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 255) “erlangen, erreichen”; Gothic *fra-hinþan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 255) “to take captive”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

fir-huorōn “entweihen, zur Hure machen, außerehelich beschlafen, zur Kebsfrau heranziehen, Konkubinat oder in Unzucht leben, durch Unzucht zu Grunde richten” (Raven II 1967: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-ihsilen “verbannt sein, im Ausland oder in der Verbannung leben, von einer Regierung = nicht mehr bestehen” (Raven I 1963: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ihsilī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 298) “Exil” < Latin *exsilium* (Kluge 1989: 194) “Exil”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *fir-*).

firinōn “beschuldigen, entweihen, sündigen, schmähen” (Raven II 1967: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *firina* (Starck and Wells 1990: 156) “Frevel, Sünde, Versprechen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fir-irrōn “sich verirren” (Raven II 1967: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-jagōn “vetreiben, wegjagen” (Raven II 1967: 74). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-kāren “umstürzen, umwerfen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-klagōn “beweinen, unter Tränen beklagen” (Raven II 1967: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-klenken “in Stücke hauen, niederhauen, -metzeln, massakrieren” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-knisten “zerdrücken, zerreiben, zermalmen, zerbröckeln, abnutzen, herausschlagen, -stoßen, zerschmettern, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-knussen “zerstampfen, zerstoßen, zerschmettern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 339). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-koborōn “sich erholen, etwas wiedererlangen” (Raven II 1967: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-koufen “verkaufen, feilbieten, versteigern, verpachten, stückweise verkaufen” (Raven I 1963: 95). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-kusten “verderben, vertilgen, fälschen, verpesten, beflecken, entweihen, umbringen, vernichten, vereiteln, verschlechtern, korrumpieren” (Raven I 1963: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-lāen “verraten” (Raven I 1963: 101). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *fra-lewjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 232) “to betray”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

fir-leggen “die verstellten Gesichtszüge durch Masken oder Larven ausdrücken, wie es die antiken Schauspieler zu tun pflegten” (Raven I 1963: 311). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-leiben “unterlassen, zurücklassen, hinterlassen, übriglassen, überlassen, zurückgelassen, zurückbleibend, zurückgeblieben, rückständig” (Raven I 1963: 101). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-lēbian* I (Seebold 1970: 326) “übrig lassen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-leidōn “anklagen, hinterbringen” (Raven II 1967: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-leiten, for-leiten “verleiten, verführen, lüstern machen, sondern, entfernen, wegführen, entführen, erniedrigen, verlocken, täuschen, irreleiten, betrügen, hintergehen, trennen, beiseiteschieben, entwenden” (Raven I 1963: 104). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-lædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 130) “to mislead, seduce; bring forth”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-lōren “vernichten, zugrunde richten” (Raven I 1963: 115). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **far-lauzejan* (Seebold 1970: 339) class I deverbative from prefixed strong verb **far-leusanan* (Seebold 1970: 339). This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *fir-liosan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 339) “verlieren, vernichten, verderben”; OS *far-liosan* st. vb (Seebold

1970: 339) “verlieren, vernichten”; OFs. *-liasa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 339). OE *for-lēosan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 130) “to loose, abandon, let go; destroy, ruin”; Gothic *fra-liusan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 339) “verlieren”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

fir-lougenen “verleugnen, in abrede stellen, nicht anerkennen, entsagen, Verzicht leisten auf, ablehnen, abschlagen, verschmähen, versagen, verweigern, verneinen, nicht anerkennen, desavouieren” (Raven I 1963: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-lucken “verlocken” (Raven I 1963: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-manēn “verachten, verschmähen, verurteilen, verwerfen, zurückweisen, mit dem Fuß verächtlich betreten, ungeliebt sein, gleichgültig” (Raven II 1967: 242). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-māren “verkünden, bekanntmachen” (Raven I 1963: 124). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-meinen “beweisen, darlegen, falsch schwören, entweihen (= ungültig machen), schänden” (Raven I 1963: 126). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-meinisōn “höchst abscheulich oder widerlich” (Raven II 1967: 101). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mein* (Starck and Wells 1990: 404) “Übeltat, Schande, Verbrechen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *fir-* and s-extension).

fir-meinsamōn “aus der Gemeinschaft ausschließen, mit dem Banne belegen, bannen” (Raven II 1967: 101). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **meinsam* “gemeinschaftlich, öffentlich”; cf. OHG *gi-meini* (Kluge 1989: 256) “gemeinschaftlich, öffentlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *fir-*).

fir-meizen “entziehen, trennen, abschneiden” (Raven I 1963: 126). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*

fir-meldēn “anzeigen, zur Kenntnis kommen, bekanntmachen, offenbaren, veröffentlichen, verraten” (Raven II 1967: 243). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-merren “hindern, hemmen, außer Kraft setzen, ausplündern, vereiteln, verderben, verschlechtern” (Raven I 1963: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-miskelōn “stören” (Raven II 1967: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-misken “vermischen, dazwischen- oder durchfallen, zugrundegehen, verschwinden” (Raven I 1963: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-missen “vermissen, ohne etwas sein, etwas nicht haben oder nicht besitzen, etwas meiden, entbehren, verzichten müssen” (Raven I 1963: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-mōn “salben, firmeln, taufen” (Raven II 1967: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *firmāre* (Pfeifer I 1989: 438) “festmachen, befestigen (auch in Geisteshaltung und Glauben)”, which in turn derives from Latin *firmus* (Pfeifer I 1989: 438) “fest”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fir-mucken “stumpfsinnig sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 423). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-mullen “verderben, zerbrechen, zerreiben” (Raven I 1963: 214). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-murdiren, fir-murdren “ermorden, schrecken, jagen” (Raven I 1963: 133). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-myrðran* I (Lehmann 1986: 249) “to kill, murder”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-murnen “betrüben, ängstlich oder besorgt (sein), [die Ängstlichen]” (Raven I 1963: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-musken “zerquetschen, verstümmeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 428). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-nāen “hinein-, einnähen (poet.) = einsticken” (Raven I 1963: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-neinen “verneinen, abschwören” (Raven I 1963: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nein* adv. (Starck and Wells 1990: 434) “nein, nicht”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation (formed with prefix *fir-*).

fir-nemnen “allgemein verbreiten, öffentlich bekannt machen, veröffentlichen” (Raven I 1963: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

firnēn “alt werden” (Raven II 1967: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *firni* (Starck and Wells 1990: 158) “alt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

fir-nibulen “hinabstürzen” (Raven I 1963: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-nidaren “nicht mehr fern sein” (Raven I 1963: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-(h)nicken “vernichten, zerstören, vereiteln, aufheben, nichtig machen” (Raven I 1963: 141). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-niozen “verbrauchen, zertreten, zerreiben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 441). No cognate verbs are attested. OHG class I weak deverbative from OHG *fir-niozan* prefixed strong verb (Starck and Wells 1990: 441) “verbrauchen, zertreten, zerreiben”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

fir-ōden “verlassen, vergeuden, verabsäumen, vernichten, vernachlässigen” (Raven I 1963: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fīrōn, fīrōn “feiern, müssig sein, nichts tun” (Raven II 1967: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fīra* (Pfeifer I 1989: 420) “Feiertag, Ruhe, Fest” < Late Latin *fēria* sg. (Pfeifer I 1989: 420). < Latin *fēriae* pl. (Pfeifer I 1989: 420) “Feiertage, Ruhetage”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fīr-ōsen “verwüsten, ausplündern” (Raven I 1963: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fīr-recken “zeigen, auseinanderlegen, offenbar machen, heraus-, hervorstecken, heraustun, verbannen, verjagen, schleppen, werfen” (Raven I 1963: 151). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

firren “zurücktreten, sich entfernen” (Raven I 1963: 41). cf. OHG *ferrēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *firrian* I (de Vries 1962: 121) “entfernen”; OFs. *fira* I (de Vries 1962: 121) “entfernen”; OE *firran* I (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 289) “to remove to a distance, withdraw”; ON *firra* I (de Vries 1962: 121) “entfernen, trennen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fer(e)rijanan* “to remove, withdraw”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ferro* adv. (Schützeichel 1969: 50) “(von) fern, weit (weg), weitab, weithin; hoch; viel, sehr”; OE *feorr* adv. (Kluge 1989: 210) “far, at a distance”; ON *ffarri* from an older *ferri* adv. (Kluge 1989: 210) “fern”; Gothic *fairra* adv. (Kluge 1989: 210) “far (from), far away”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fer(e)ro* adv. (Kluge 1989: 210) “fern”. Therefore a NWGmc deadverbial formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-, ir-*

fīr-rucken “verrücken” (Raven I 1963: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fīr-ruogen “anklagen” (Raven I 1963: 164). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-wrēgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 135) “to accuse, calumniate”; ON *frýja* I (de Vries 1962: 144) “Vorwürfe machen, tadeln”? (If this is to be seen as a contracted form of an earlier prefix formation); Gothic *fra-wrōhjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 411) “to suspect, accuse”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

fīr-ruohhalōn “vernachlässigen” (Raven II 1967: 124). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ruohha* (Starck and Wells 1990: 499) “Fürsorge, Bemühung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *fīr-* and l-extension).

fīr-(h)ruomen “rühmsüchtig sein” (Raven I 1963: 165). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fīr-sagen “aus-, ansagen; (+dat.) verneinen, versagen, abschlagen, (+gen.) lossprechen von, verleumden” (Raven I 1963: 318). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fīr-sagēn “(+dat.) in Abrede stellen, verneinen, versagen, verweigern, zurückweisen, (+gen.) lossprechen von, verleumden” (Raven II 1967: 251). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-seccan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 131) “to accuse, falsify, slander, accuse; speak out, discourse on”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-salawen “verdunkeln, trüben” (Raven I 1963: 168). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-seganōn “(von Wunden) fortbeschwören” (Raven II 1967: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-sellen “ausliefern, beauftragen, hinübergeben” (Raven I 1963: 320). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-sellan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 131) “to sell, give up, lose”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-senken “versenken, sinken machen, untergehen lassen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 168). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-sencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 131) “to reject”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-senten “versenden, schicken, wegschicken” (Raven I 1963: 170). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-sendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 131) “to send away, banish, send to destruction”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-sezzēn “sich verpflichten, sich verdingen, versetzen; verpfänden, der Unzucht preisgeben, prostituieren, setzen, legen” (Raven I 1963: 173). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 173) “to hedge in, obstruct; oppress”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-sigilen “kundtun” (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-scamēn “aufhören sich zu schämen, alle Scham hintansetzen” (Raven II 1967: 253). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-sc(e)amian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 131) “to be ashamed”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-skenten “versenken, sinken machen, untergehen lassen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 180). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-skimpfen “verachten, geringschätzen” (Raven I 1963: 181). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-skirbinōn “ungleich klingen, nicht übereinstimmen” (Raven II 1967: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skirbi* (Kluge 1989: 629) “Scherbe”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *fir-* and n-extension).

fir-scopfōn, *fir-scoppōn* “(eine Hirnwunde) verbinden, stopfen, (eigentlich) verdichten” (Raven II 1967: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

fir-scouwōn “mit Verachtung herabsehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 546). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-screnken “versperren, verschränken, verhindern” (Raven I 1963: 184). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-screncan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 131) “to supplant, overcome, vanquish, cast down”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-scricken “hervorspringen oder stürzen, sich ereifern” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-sculden “verschulden, (durch Schuld) verlieren, einbüßen, angeklagt sein” (Raven I 1963: 186). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-sculdōn “verschulden, einen zum besten haben, begehen” (Raven II 1967: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-scunten “versuchen, an-, verlocken, ködern, verführen, [treiben, anspornen]” (Raven I 1963: 187). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-skundian* I (de Vries 1962: 507) “antreiben, aufhetzen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-scupfen “flüchtig oder vergänglich sein (des Momentes)” (Raven I 1963: 187). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **skuppjan* (Seebold 1970: 417) class I zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **skeubanan* (Seebold 1970: 416) “schieben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *skioban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 417) “schieben”; OFs. *skūva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 417) “schieben”; OE *scūfan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 298) “to shove, thrust, push; push with violence, urge, impel; push out, expel, deliver up”; OSwed. *skiuva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 416) “schieben”; Gothic *af-skiuban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 416) “verstoßen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

fir-scurgen “(zurück) stoßen, hinunter-, hinabstürzen” (Raven I 1963: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *nidar-*

fir-scurpfen “ausweiden, durch Folter den Körper aufreißen” (Raven I 1963: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-scuttan “verleugnen” (Raven I 1963: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*

fir-scuzzen “hinausstreiben” (Raven I 1963: 190). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-sleizzen “abreißen” (Raven I 1963: 190). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-slengen “Vermittler, Erklärer, Dolmetscher” (Raven I 1963: 190). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-smāhen “verschmähen, verwerfen, verachten, zertreten” (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-smelzen “schmelzen, verschmelzen, ausläutern, durchseihen, zerfließen” (Raven I 1963: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-smucken “zerquetschen” (Raven I 1963: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **-smukkjan* (Seebold 1970: 440) class I zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **smeuganan* (Seebold 1970: 439) “schmiegen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *smiogan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 563) “sich zusammenziehen”; OE *smūgan* st. vb

(Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 312) “to creep”; ON *smjúga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 439) “hineinschlüpfen, ein Gewand anlegen, kriechen, sich schmiegen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative (formed with prefix *fir-*).

fir-sniūmōn “sich beeilen, (schleunig) hingehen” (Raven II 1967: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-snuoren “festheften” (Raven I 1963: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *snuor* (Starck and Wells 1990: 566) “Faden, Binde, Schnur”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *fir-*).

fir-soufen “untergehen, versäufen, ersäufen” (Raven I 1963: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-spentōn “aufwenden, wegschenken” (Raven II 1967: 141). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-spilden “verbreiten, aufzehren” (Raven I 1963: 196). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-spildan* I, *for-spillan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 132) “to waste, lose, disperse, bring to nothing, destroy, ruin, kill”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-spūmen “ausschäumen oder aufschäumen lassen; despumāre” (Raven I 1963: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. This verb is best regarded as a loan translation of Latin *despumāre* (Lewis and Short 1966: 559) “to skim off, skim; to deposit a frothy matter”. This ultimately from Latin *spūma* (Lewis and Short 1966: 1747) “foam, froth, scum, spume”. The OHG privative prefix *fir-* is used here to represent the Latin privative prefix *de-*. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

fir-spurnen “straucheln, (mit dem Fuße) anstoßen, treten” (Raven I 1963: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

fir-stabēn “vor Staunen erstarren” (Raven II 1967: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-stabōn “(vor Staunen) erstarren, (vor Kälte) steif werden” (Raven II 1967: 145). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-stecken “verstopfen” (Raven I 1963: 201). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-stōn “zuspitzen” (Raven II 1967: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *first* (Starck and Wells 1990: 159) “Dachfirst, Mauerspitze, Gebirgskamm”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fir-stopfōn “jemandem etwas zum Verderben weihen, es ihm durch Fluch zerstören” (Raven II 1967: 148). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-streden “Blut stillen, festbinden, (den Blutfluß einer Wunde) zum Stehen bringen, zurückhalten, gerinnen, verurteilen” (Raven I 1963: 324). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-strecken “(vorwärts) strecken, sich entschließen, ausruhen, spannen” (Raven I 1963: 209). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-stullen “stille stehen” (Raven I 1963: 210). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-sturen “aufwiegeln, verstören, verführen” (Raven I 1963: 212). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-sturian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 604) “to subvert”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-sūmen “vernachlässigen, nicht beachten, geringschätzen, verleugnen” (Raven I 1963: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-suntōn “sich versündigen” (Raven II 1967: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-suohhen “besuchen, versuchen” (Raven I 1963: 216). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for(e)-sēcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 127, 131) “to appeal (for justice)”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-suonen “versöhnen” (Raven I 1963: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-sweinen “schwächen oder verblenden (von den Augen)” (Raven I 1963: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-swenten “verschwenden, vertun” (Raven I 1963: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-swīgēn “(+acc. vel gen. rei) verschweigen, etwas übergehen oder auslassen” (Raven II 1967: 262). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-swigian* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 132) “to conceal by silence, suppress, pass over”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-swirōn “fälschlich bestätigen, auf unrechtmäßige Weise übergehen (etwas worauf ein anderer Anspruch hat)” (Raven II 1967: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-tarkenēn, fir-terkenēn “verschleiern, umhüllen, beiseitestellen, gierig genießen” (Raven I 1963: 221). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-teilen “berauben, prellen, ausschließen und verurteilen, ausweisen” (Raven I 1963: 224). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-dælan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 125) “to spend”; Gothic *fra-dailjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 87) “to distribute”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

fir-temmen “hinausstoßen bzw. -treiben, fortschaffen, zurückdrängen” (Raven I 1963: 225). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-demman* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 253) “to damn up, block up”; Gothic *faur-dammjan* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 253) “to fence in, hinder”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

fir-tīligōn “tilgen, austilgen, vertilgen, ausrotten, vernichten, wegschaffen, beseitigen, verablassen” (Raven II 1967: 155). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-tretten “zertreten, unter die Füße treten” (Raven I 1963: 229). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-treddan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 133) “to tread down”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-trōsten “(+acc.) Caution stellen oder Bürgschaft leisten für etwas; (reflex. +gen.) Vertzicht leisten auf etwas oder es vergessen” (Raven I 1963: 229). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-trūēn, *fir-trūwēn* “(reflex +gen. rei) Vertrauen setzen auf, sich verlassen auf, zuversichtlich sein, Zutrauen haben” (Raven II 1967: 265). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-trūwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 133) “to be presumptuous, over-confident, rash”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-tuhhalen “verbergen” (Raven I 1963: 231). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-tuncalen “trüben” (Raven I 1963: 233). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-tuomen “verurteilen” (Raven I 1963: 233). OS *far-dōmian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 642) “verurteilen”; OE *for-dēman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 125) “to condemn, sentence, doom; prejudice, decide”; ON *fyrir-dæma* I (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 182) “to condemn”; Gothic **faur-domjan* I “to prejudge, prejudice”, can be reconstructed from the post verbal derivative *faurdeins* (Lehmann 1986: 93) “prejudice”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

fir-untriuwēn “betrügen, hintergehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 677). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *untriuwa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 677) “Betrug, Untreue”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *fir-*).

fir-wāen “(Staub) verwehen” (Raven I 1963: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wallōn “abirren, (ab)wandern, sich wandernd entfernen, wegziehen” (Raven II 1967: 171). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wānen “sich bekümmern, entmutigen, verzweifeln, sich einstellen von Verachtung; selbstgefällig (adj..)” (Raven I 1963: 249). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE **for-wēnan* I attested in *for-wēned* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 135) “suspectus”; Gothic *faura-wenjan* (Lehmann 1986: 401) “to hope before”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

fir-wantalōn “umwandeln, verwandeln, abwechseln, verwechseln” (Raven II 1967: 174). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wartēn “hinlegen, . in Sicherheit bringen, Sorge tragen für” (Raven II 1967: 270). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wāzenen “verdammen, verfluchen” (Raven I 1963: 251). No cognate verbs are attested. Probably a deadjectival formation from the preterite participle of the reduplicating strong verb occurring in OHG *fir-wāzan* st. vb. (Starck and Wells 1990: 700) “verabscheuen, verfluchen, entweihen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

firwāzōn “verfluchen, mit dem Kirchenbann belegen” (Raven II 1967: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *firwāz* (Seebold 1970: 284) “Fluch, etwas Verbanntes”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fir-wehsalōn “verwandeln, (mit der entgegengesetzten Eigenschaft) vertauschen” (Raven II 1967: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wenten “jemanden von etwas abbringen” (Raven I 1963: 257). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*fir-werien*¹ “verbieten, verwehren” (Raven I 1963: 332). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-werten “verletzen, verderben, entstellen, vereiteln” (Raven I 1963: 260). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-wyrdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 135) “to destroy”; Gothic *fra-wardjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 127) “to destroy”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fra-warðejanan* “to destroy, spoil, ruin”, prefixed causative deverbative from prefixed strong verb **fra-werþanan* “to perish, spoil, become ruined”. This is attested in: OHG *fir-werdan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 714) “zugrunde gehen, untergehen, vergehen”; OE *for-weorðan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 135) “to perish, pass away, vanish; deteriorate, sicken”; Gothic *fra-wairþan* st. vb (Seebold 560) “verderben, umkommen”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

fir-wesanēn “an Geltung verlieren, sich überleben” (Raven II 1967: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wesen “(anvertrautes Gut) veruntreuen, vergeuden” (Raven I 1963: 333). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

fir-widaren “ablehnen, verschmähen” (Raven I 1963: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-widarōn “abweisen” (Raven II 1967: 182). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wiffen “proskribieren, konfiszieren, öffentlich aufschreiben, Güter beschlagnahmen” (Raven I 1963: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wigilen “unterweisen; instruere” (Starck and Wells 1990: 726). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wihsalen, fir-wehsalen “(ver)wechseln, tauschen, wuchern” (Raven I 1963: 262). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wirken “sündigen, sich versündigen, durch Handlungen sich einer Sache verlustig machen, verwirken, verschulden, fehlen, voller Schande” (Raven I 1963: 265). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-wirkian* I (Holthausen 1967: 88) “verraten”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-wituwēn “Witwer sein” (Raven II 1967: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wuofen “wildtrauern” (Raven I 1963: 269). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wuolen “ausstoßen, entfernen” (Raven I 1963: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wuoten “empfindungslos, unsinnig, schwachköpfig” adj. (Raven I 1963: 270). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-wurken “zerstören, zugrunderichten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 750). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-workian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 750) “zerstören, zugrunderichten”; OE *for-wyrcean* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 135) “to do wrong, sin; ruin, destroy; condemn, convict, curse; forfeit”; Gothic *fra-waurkjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 396) “to sin”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

fir-zādalōn “vor Mangel verkommen oder verkommen lassen” (Raven II 1967: 191). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-zānōn, *fir-zānōl-* “zerfasert” (Starck and Wells 1990: 754). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-zartōn “verzärtelt, wollüstig, verwöhnt” (Starck and Wells 1990: 754). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-zascōn “Häuser an sich raffen, sich deren bemächtigen” (Raven II 1967: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-zerten “(höchst) zart oder üppig sein, (subst.) Jüngling, Kind, Üppigkeit, (MHG) verweichlichen, verzärteln” (Raven I 1963: 277). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-zimbaren “verbauen, versperren” (Raven I 1963: 278). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-timbran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 132) “to close up, obstruct”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*fir-zispen*² “fortschaffen, hinaustreiben” (Raven I 1963: 279). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-zucken “(Mauern) reparieren, die Mauern werden vernarbt” (Raven I 1963: 280). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-zūnen “verzäunen, dicht umringen oder umgeben” (Raven I 1963: 281). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-tynan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 133) “to shut in, enclose, block up”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fir-zoubarōn “bezaubern, durch bösen Blick behexen” (Raven II 1967: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fir-zwāvalen, *fir-zwāvalit-* “hoffnungslos, ohne Hoffnung auf etwas (participial adj.)” (Raven I 1963: 283). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fiscōn “fischen” (Raven II 1967: 43). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fiskōn* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 439) “fischen”; OFs. *fiskia* II (de Vries 1962: 122) “fischen”; OE *fiscian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 120) “to fish”; ON *fiska* II (de Vries 1962: 122) “fischen”; Gothic *fiskon* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 439) “to fish”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fiskōjanan* “to fish”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fisc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 160) “Fisch”; OS *fisk* (Pfeifer I 1989: 439) “Fisch”; OFs. *fisc* (de Vries 1962: 121) “Fisch”; OE *fisc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 120) “fish”; ON *fiskr* (Pfeifer I 1989: 439) “Fisch”; Gothic *fisks* (Pfeifer I 1989: 439) “fish”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fiskaz* (Kluge 1989: 216) “Fisch”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

fitafuhhōn “(um Hurereien) betteln” (Raven II 1967: 43). The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear, especially in regard to the initial *fitā-* element. As literary recordings of words denoting “to copulate” are rare in early periods for reasons of taboo, it is naturally hard to relate a word such as *fitafuhhōn* to potential cognates. Possible comparisons can be drawn with: NHG *ficken* (Kluge 1989: 213) “ficken, koitieren”; Modern Engl. *fuck* (Kluge 1989: 213). NHG dial. *ficken*, *facken*, *fucken*, *fickfacken* (Kluge 1989: 213) “reiben, hin- und herbewegen, kurze rasche Bewegungen machen”. Whether the sexual meaning is derived from this latter dialectal meaning, or vice versa, is difficult to ascertain, though it is more probable that the sexual meaning is secondary. Compare further: Modern Du. *figgelen* (Pfeifer I 1989: 431) “hin- und her bewegen”; Modern Engl. dial. *fidge* (Pfeifer I 1989: 431) “unruhig sein”; Modern Swed. dial. *fickla* (Pfeifer I 1989: 431) “ungeschickt sein”; Gothic *fitan* st. vb (Lehmann 1986: 118) “to be in labour, give birth to”; Modern Dan. dial. *fitte* (Lehmann 1986: 118) “cunt”. The above constitute a Gmc complex of possible onomatopoeic or imitative origin, and assuming that the sexual meaning is secondary, probably denoting movement to and fro, or short and frequent movements. The fluidity and expressive nature of this complex makes identifying precise phonological relations difficult. The derivations based on this root should therefore be seen as belonging together only loosely. The complex appears to have no related forms outside Gmc. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

fiuren “feurig machen” (Raven I 1963: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fiur* (Kluge 1989: 212) “Feuer”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fiurēn “feurig werden oder sein, glühen, brennen, Flammen speien” (Raven II 1967: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *fiuren*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fizusōn “schlau oder verschlagen sein” (Raven II 1967: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fizuz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 161) “schlau, listig, klug”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *umbi-*

fizzōn “umgeben” (Raven II 1967: 44). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *fitja* II (de Vries 1962: 122) “zusammenbinden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fitjōjanan* “to bind, surround with a thread”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fizza* (Starck and Wells 1990: 162) “Gebinde, Gewebe, Faden”; OS *fittea* (Kluge 1989: 216). OE *fit* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 120) “fit, song, poem”; ON *fit* (Kluge 1989: 216) “Gewebekante, Schwimnhaut der Vögel; Arm, Hand; Brünne (poet)”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fitjō* (Kluge 1989: 216). Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

flannēn “den Mund oder das Gesicht verziehen” (Raven II 1967: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. NHG *flennen* (<**flannijan*?). cf. Norw. *flina* (Torp 1963: 120) “fletschen, lachen”; cf. MHG *vlans* (Kluge 1989: 220) “Mund, Maul”; cf. Swed. *flina* (Kluge 1989: 220) “fletschen, lachen”; cf. Dan. *fline* (Schade I 1882: 203) “fletschen, lachen”. Further etymology obscure.

fledirōn “das Schwert ablegen, losgürten” (Raven II 1967: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

flēhen “liebkoosen, schmeicheln” (Raven I 1963: 293). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **flēhjan* “schmeicheln, demütig bitten, flehen”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. There are possible connections with Latin *supplicāre* (Kluge 1989: 219) “demütig flehen”, Latin *supplex* (Kluge 1989: 219) “demütig flehend”, but this is by no means certain.

flehezzēn “schmeicheln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 163). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct an earlier form **flēhatjan* “schmeicheln”, intensive deverbative from OHG class I weak verb *flēhen* (which see) or class II weak verb *flēhōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

flēhōn “flehen, an-, erleben, kniefällig oder schmeichelnd - d.h. dringlich und demütig bitten, inständig verlangen, ermahnen, mahnend reden, gewinnen oder abkaufen, beschwichtigen, schmeicheln” (Raven II 1967: 44). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *flēhōn* (Kluge 1989: 219) “dringend bitten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **flēhōjan* “flehen”. Etymology uncertain. There may be possible connections with Latin *supplicāre* (Kluge 1989: 219) “demütig flehen”, Latin *supplex* (Kluge 1989: 219) “demütig flehend”. This is, however, by no means certain.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

fleisken “rupfen, zupfen, (übtr.), jemanden durchhächeln, verspotten, schmähen” (Raven I 1963: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fleisc* (Kluge 1989: 219) “Fleisch”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-* (class II).

**fleckōn* “beschmutzen, beflecken”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *vlecken* (de Vries 1962: 130) “beflecken”; ON *flekka* II (Fritzner I 1954: 438) “beschmutzen, beflecken”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **flekkojanan* “beflecken, beschmutzen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *flec* (Starck and Wells 1990: 164) “Mal, Lederstückchen”; OHG *flecko* (Kluge 1989: 219) “Makel, Gerstenkörnchen, Fuge”; MDu. *vlecke* (Kluge 1989: 219) “Fleck, Flecken”; ON *flekkr* (Kluge 1989: 219) “Fleck, Flecken”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **flekka / *flekko* masc. (Kluge 1989: 219) “Fleck (darübergesetzter Lappen, Farbfleck, Eingeweidestück)”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

flewen “schwemmen, spülen, waschen, (vom Gewand) wallen” (Raven I 1963: 293). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **flaujan* with 'au' vocalism (Seebold 1970: 204) class I deverbative from strong verb **flōwanan* (Seebold 1970: 204) “fließen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *flōwan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 204) “to flow, stream, issue; become liquid, melt; abound; overflow”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

flīden “(vom Mantel) purpurfarbig glänzen oder (übtr.) glühen” (Raven I 1963: 293). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I weak deverbative from strong verb **fleipanan* (Seebold 1970: 200) “glänzen?”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *flīdan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 164) “glänzen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

fligilōn “streichelnd abwischen, kriechend schmeicheln, knechtisch begrüßen, besänftigen” (Raven II 1967: 45). cf. OHG *flēhōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 163) “flehen, dringend bitten”. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **flegilōjan* “kriechend schmeicheln”, class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from class II weak verb OHG *flēhōn*. Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

flimmen “dumpf tosen oder tönen, murren, brummen” (Raven I 1963: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably of imitative origin. Semantically separate from NHG *flimmen*.

flistiren “schmeicheln, lieblosen, wärmen” (Raven I 1963: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. May be related to NHG *flüstern*.

flogarezzan “flattern, stieben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 165). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **flug(a)ratjan* (frequentative r-extension is possibly by analogy with forms such as *flogarōn* “flackern”). The verb is a zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **fleuganan* (Seebold 1970: 201) “fliegen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *fliogan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 201) “fliegen”; OFs. *fli(a)ga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 201) “fliegen”; OE *flēogan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 201) “to fly; flee, take to flight”; ON *fljúga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 201) “fliegen, fließen (von Tränen)”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

flogarōn “flackern, sich fliegend verbreiten, (vom Aussatz) frisch ausbrechend oder ansteckend wirken” (Raven II 1967: 45). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **flagarōjan* / **flogarōjan* “flackern”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is an r-extension verb and may possibly derive from an IE $\sqrt{*plāg-}$, **plæg-* (Kluge 1989: 217) “schlagen”. From , from which base the following may also be derived: OE *flacor* with unvoiced guttural (Kluge 1989: 217) “fliegend”; NHG *flackern* with unvoiced guttural (Kluge 1989: 217) “flackern”; MDu. *vlackern* with unvoiced guttural (Pfeifer I 1989: 442). ON *flokra* with unvoiced guttural (Pfeifer I 1989: 442) “umherstreifen, flattern”; ON *flakka* with unvoiced guttural (Pfeifer I 1989: 442) “flackern, flattern”; Latin *plangere* (Kluge 1989: 217) “schlagen”; Greek *πλέγεναι* passive (Kluge 1989: 217) “wurde geschlagen”. This IE root has undergone a significant semantic development in Gmc. As the r-extension is lacking in IE, this verb is clearly not pre-Gmc. Therefore an OHG verb (formed with an r-extension), the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

flogezzan “schweben” (Seebold 1970: 201). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **flugatjan* (Seebold 1970: 201) zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **fleuganan* (Seebold 1970: 201) “fliegen” (see under *flogarezzan*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

**flougen* “flüchten, erschrecken, in die Flucht schlagen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *flāgia* (Seebold 1970: 518) “flüchten”; OE *ā-flēgan* (Seebold 1970: 518) “to put to flight, expel”; ON *fleygia* (Fritzner I 1954: 440) “fliehen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **blaugejanan* (Seebold 1970: 518) / **flaugejanan* “to put to flight”, causative of strong verb **pleuhanan* (Seebold 1970: 517), **fleuhanan* “to flee”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *fliohan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 517) “meiden, vermeiden, ausweichen”; OS *fliohan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 517) “fliehen vor”; OFs. *fliā* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 517) “fliehen, schwinden”; OE *flēon* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 517) “to fly from, flee, avoid, escape”; ON *fló* st. vb preterite sg. (Seebold 1970: 517) This has fallen together with *fljúga* “fliegen”; Gothic *pliuhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 517) “fliehen”. The phonetic division between Gothic *pl-* and NWGmc *fl-* in certain words cannot be satisfactorily explained. The traditional view is that original *pl-* is preserved in Gothic but has fallen together with *fl-* in the remaining languages of the Gmc group. K. Matzel, *Sprache* 8 (1962), 220-237, takes the opposite view and proposes

that Gmc *fl-* can become Gothic *þl-* under certain conditions. However, this latter theory cannot explain every distinction between *þl-* and *fl-*. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *fram-ir-*

flōzen “wallen, fluten, schwanken, verschwenden, übermütig sein, sich brüsten” (Raven I 1963: 42). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *flōtian* I (Holthausen 1967: 21) “spülen”; ON *fleyta* I (Seebold 1970: 203) “treiben lassen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **flautejanan* (Seebold 1970: 203) causative deverbative from strong verb **fleutanan* (Seebold 1970: 202) “fließen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *fliozan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 202) “fließen, hervorströmen, schwimmen, flüssig sein”; OS *fliotan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 202) “fließen”; OFs. *fliata* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 202) “fließen, schiffen”; OE *flēotan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 202) “to float, drift, flow, swim, sail; skim”; ON *fljóta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 202) “schwimmen (Schiff, Blut), zerfließen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*, *duruh-*, *gi-*, *ūz-*, *zi-*

fluhten “vertreiben” (Raven I 1963: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fluht* (Kluge 1989: 223) “Flucht”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dana-*

flucken “zum Fliegen herausfordern, flügge machen” (Raven I 1963: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **flukkjan* intensive gemination and devoicing (Seebold 1970: 202) zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **fleuganan* (Seebold 1970: 201) “fliegen” (see under *flogarezzan*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

fluobiren “sich beraten, beratschlagen, für etwas sorgen, verfahren, handeln” (Raven I 1963: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fluobara* (Schade I 1882: 208) “consolatio”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fluohhen “fluchen” (Raven I 1963: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. Possibly a class I deverbative formation, either from the strong verb **flōkanan* (Seebold 1970: 205) “schlagen” (see under *fluohhōn*) or, more likely, the verb represents a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb *fluohhōn*. Alternatively, the verb may represent a denominative formation from OHG *fluoh* (Seebold 1970: 205) “Fluch”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

fluohhōn “fluchen, verwünschen, schmähen” (Raven II 1967: 45). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern of this verb is ambiguous. It may be a class II deverbative **flōkōjan* (Seebold 1970: 205) from the strong verb **flōkanan* (Seebold 1970: 205) “schlagen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *widar-fluohhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 205) “wieder schmähen”; OS *flōkan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 205) “fluchen”; OE *flōcan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 205) “die Hände zusammenschlagen”; ON *flókenn* st. vb pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 205) “verworren”; Gothic *faiflokun* reduplicating verb preterite pl. (Seebold 1970: 205) “betrauern (das tote Mädchen)”. Or, alternatively, the verb may be a denominative formation from OHG *fluoh* (Seebold 1970: 205) “Fluch”. Therefore an OHG deverbative / denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

fnastōn “schnauben” (Raven II 1967: 45). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fnæstian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 123) “to breathe hard”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fnastōjan* “schnauben”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *pfnāst* secondary lengthening of ‘a’? (Pokorny I 1956: 839) “das Schnauben”; OE *fnæst* (Pokorny I 1956: 839) “blowing, blast, breath, voice”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fnastan* “das schnauben”, nominal derivative from NWGmc class II weak verb **fnasōjanan*

“schnauben”, which is attested in the following: MHG *pfñāsen* secondary lengthening of ‘a’? (Pokorny I 1956: 839) “schnauben”; ON *fnasa* II (de Vries 1962: 136) “schnauben”. The verb **fnasōjanan* derives ultimately from the strong verb **fnesanan* “schnauben, niesen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *fnesan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 123) “to pant, gasp; (with prefix gi- = to sneeze)”. For a discussion of the Gmc *fn-* complex see under *fnattōn*. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

fnattōn “(vom Pferd) schnauben, (vom Ochs) stöhnen” (Raven II 1967: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **fnattōjan* expressive gemination? “(von Tieren) schnauben”. The precise etymology of this verb is unclear. It appears to be a dental extension deriving from a Gmc onomatopoeic complex based on an initial ‘fn-’ consonant cluster. The essential meaning centered on this complex was that of panting, gasping for breath, sneezing, sniffing and, in general, noises produced by the nose, mouth or air-passage. Compare the similar onomatopoeic complex with initial *sn-* (see under *snepflietzen*). This onomatopoeic base served as a productive root for a number of derivations. The vocalism of these derivations was frequently varied according to quantity or quality for an expressive or onomatopoeic effect. These derivations also employed a number of consonant extensions, often with expressive or intensive gemination or devoicing. The fluidity and expressive nature of this complex makes identifying precise phonological relations difficult. The derivations based on this root should therefore be seen as belonging together only loosely. The following are examples of derivations, showing the productivity of this complex: OHG *fnehan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 839) “schnauben, gierig trachten auf, ersehnen”; MHG *pfñūsen* (Pokorny I 1956: 839) “schnauben, niesen”; OE *fnesan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 839) “to pant, gasp”; OE *fnēosan* (Pokorny I 1956: 839) “to sneeze”; ON *fnýsa* (Pokorny I 1956: 839) “schnauben”. The complex as a whole probably derives from IE $\sqrt{*pneu-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 838) “keuchen, atmen”, from which base the following may be derived: Greek πνέω (Pokorny I 1956: 839) “ich atme, rieche”. Therefore an OHG verb (formed with a dental extension), the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

fneskezzan “schlucksen, seufzen, gähnen, den Mund aufsperrn, röcheln” (Raven I 1963: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **fneskatjan* intensive deverbative formed with k-extension from strong verb **fnesanan* “schnauben, niesen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *fnesan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 123) “to pant, gasp; (with prefix gi- = to sneeze)”. For an explanation concerning the Gmc complex based on initial *fn-* see under *fnattōn*. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

fnotōn “schütteln” (Raven II 1967: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fogalōn “Vögel fangen, vogelstellen, Vogelfang, Vogelschau halten, sich mit Vögeln überhaupt abgeben” (Raven II 1967: 46). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fugolōn* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 1916) “Vögel fangen”; OE *fuglian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 141) “to catch birds”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fuglōjan* “to catch birds, deal with birds, observe birds”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fogal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 167) “Vogel”; OS *fugal* (Kluge 1989: 767) “Vogel”; OFs. *fugel* (Kluge 1989: 767) “bird, fowl”; OE *fugel* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 141) “bird, fowl”; ON *fugl* (Kluge 1989: 767) “Vogel”; Gothic *fugls* (Kluge 1989: 767) “bird”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fuglaz* (Kluge 1989: 767) dissimilation from earlier **fluglaz* (Pfeifer I 1989: 1916) “Vogel”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

fogalrartōn “wahrsagen” (Raven II 1967: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fogalrarta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 167) “Vogelstimme als Vorzeichen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fōhēn “dünn, locker, und dadurch unzuverlässig werden” (Raven II 1967: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fō*, *fōwer*, *fōher* (Starck and Wells 1990: 167) “wenige, selten, vereinzelt, dünn, gesät”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

folgēn “(+dat. pers. et gen. rei; +acc. rarus inventu); folgen, befolgen, nachfolgen, nachgehen, hinterlassen, notwendig logisch folgen, gehorchen, erfüllen, genügen, erhalten (acc.), bestimmen, begleiten, das geleit geben, hinter (oder neben) etwas hergehen, Folge leisten, hinzukommen, sich streng richten nach, günstig oder gewogen sein, das Überlieferte, nach oder gemäß, demgemäß, folglich” (Raven II 1967: 213). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *folgōn* II (Kluge 1989: 225) “folgen”; OFs. *folgia*, *fulgia*, *folia* II (Kluge 1989: 225) “folgen”; OE *fylgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 143) “to follow, pursue; persecute; follow out, observe, obey; obtain; attend to; practise”; OE *folgian*, *fylgean* II (Kluge 1989: 225) “to follow, accompany; attain; obey, serve, observe”; ON *fylgja* (Kluge 1989: 225) “folgen, begleiten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fulgēanan* (Kluge 1989: 225) “to follow”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. A connection has been suggested with the Gmc strong verb **felhanan* (in the sense of “verbergen, begraben”) and involves the following semantic development: “bedecken > beschützen > in jemandes Gefolgschaft treten” (Pfeifer I 1989: 459). This is, however, semantically somewhat contorted. More convincing is an etymology which relates the verb to Welsh *āl* (Kluge 1989: 225) “Spur” and Cornish *ol* (Pfeifer I 1989: 459) “Fußspur”, which would allow us to reconstruct the root **pelgh-*, **polgh-* (Pfeifer I 1989: 459), although these comparisons are tentative and the root is restricted to Gmc and Celtic. Despite the absence of sufficient data, this verb is nevertheless probably best regarded as pre-Gmc.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aftar-*, *ana-*, *duruh-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *nāh-*, *ūf-*, *untar-*

folgōn “Folge leisten” (Pfeifer I 1989: 459). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *folgōn* II (Kluge 1989: 225). OFs. *folgia*, *fulgia*, *folia* II (Kluge 1989: 225). OE *fylgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 143) “to follow, pursue; persecute; follow out, observe, obey; obtain; attend to; practise”; OE *folgian*, *fylgean* II (Kluge 1989: 225) “to follow, accompany; attain; obey, serve, observe”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fulgōjan* (Kluge 1989: 225) “folgen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is a class II variant of the Gmc class III weak verb **fulgēanan* and is possibly best regarded as a class change deverbative from this latter, the change of class being to the more productive class II. For a tentative etymology of **fulgēanan* see under *folgēn*. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

folla-bringen “vollbringen, ausfüllen, voll anfüllen, füllen, zustandebringen, ausführen, vollenden, durchsetzen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-buozzen “befriedigen, zufriedenstellen, sich entschuldigen” (Raven I 1963: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-fir-entōn “vollständig zu Ende bringen, sterben” (Raven II 1967: 35). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-frummen “vollbringen, durchführen” (Raven I 1963: 296). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zisamene-*

folla-haben “ganz haben, vollständig besitzen, fort dauern, wahren” (Raven I 1963: 303). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-heilen “vollständig heilen” (Raven I 1963: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-leggen “hinzufügen” (Raven I 1963: 311). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-leisten “genügen” (Raven I 1963: 102). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ful-lēstian* I (Bosworth and Toller 346) “to help, be enough”; OE *ful-læstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 142) “to help, aid, support”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

folla-leiten “hinführen, hinbringen” (Raven I 1963: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-lusten “helfen” (Raven I 1963: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-redōn “(eine Unterweisung) zu Ende bringen” (Raven II 1967: 118). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-rehtōn “(+dat. pers.) vollständig Recht geschehen lassen” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-recken “vollständig erklären, ganz sagen, vollführen” (Raven I 1963: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-rucken “vervollständigen” (Raven I 1963: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-sezzen “sich erfüllen oder begnügen, vollenden mit” (Raven I 1963: 173). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-tribōn “durchführen, vollenden, verhandeln, erörtern” (Raven II 1967: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-trōsten “ewig und durchaus trösten” (Raven I 1963: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-wemōn “wimmeln, überfließen, voll sein von” (Raven II 1967: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*folla-werēn*¹ “dauernd bleiben” (Raven II 1967: 272). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-werten “verfolgen” (Raven I 1963: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-wirken “vollenden, vollständig oder fertig machen” (Raven I 1963: 265). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-wāsen “völlig hinweisen” (Raven I 1963: 267). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *fulla-weisjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 130) “to persuade”. Therefore possibly a Gmc prefix formation. However, no other cognates are attested for this formation, and the two formations differ so distinctly in meaning that they may equally well be considered as independent formations. This is supported by the fact that there are no other prefix formations with **fulla-* during the Gmc period. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-wonēn “innewohnen, bei etwas harren, gewohnt sein” (Raven II 1967: 275). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

folla-wurken “eine Arbeit vollenden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 750). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ful-wyrcean* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 142) “to complete, fulfil”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

follōn “sättigen, den Willen Gottes oder des Schicksals vollstrecken” (Raven II 1967: 46). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fullian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 142) “to complete, fill up, perfect”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fullōjan* “to fill up”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *fullen*). Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *ir-*

folōn “fühlen, betasten, (durch Bestehen) besänftigen oder günstig stimmen” (Raven II 1967: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **fōlōjan* “fühlen; mit dem Daumen, Finger betasten”. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are unclear. It is a class II variant of WGmc class I weak verb **fōljan* and may represent a class change deverbative from this latter. For a tentative etymology of **fōljan* see under *fuolen*. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

fora-bi-goumen “versehen, schützen, sich hüten, vorbeugen, vorrätig machen” (Raven I 1963: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-bi-huoten “vorassehen, vorhersehen, sorgen, besorgen, sorgend beschaffen, anschaffen” (Raven I 1963: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-bi-kennen “etwas zuvor (≠ schon früher) sehen oder erblicken, (übertr.) Zukünftiges voraussehen, Vorkehrungen treffen, sorgen” (Raven I 1963: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-bilidōn “bildlich vorbezeichnen” (Raven II 1967: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-bi-meinen “vorschlagen, vorausbestimmen oder bestellen, (vorn) anheften, anstecken oder anschlagen” (Raven I 1963: 126). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-bi-neimen “im voraus bestimmen” (Raven I 1963: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

forabotōn “vorhersagen” (Raven II 1967: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *foraboto* (Starck and Wells 1990: 171) “Vorbote, Vorläufer”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fora-breiten “vorantragen, kundgeben, zeigen, offenbaren” (Raven I 1963: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-brengen “vorführen, befördern” (Raven I 1963: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-bringen “vorziehen, vorsetzen, in Vorschlag bringen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-denken “vordenken” (Raven I 1963: 27). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fore-pencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969:128) “to premeditate, forethink, consider beforehand”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fora-garawen “bereiten” (Raven I 1963: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-gi-dennen “ausstrecken, erhalten” (Raven I 1963: 289). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-gi-goumen “versehen, vorrätig machen” (Raven I 1963: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-gi-lengen “fortjagen, prolongieren, lange wohnen bleiben” (Raven I 1963: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-gi-mālēn “beschreiben, mit Worten darstellen” (Raven II 1967: 242). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-gi-marcōn “voranstellen, vorziehen, aufstellen” (Raven II 1967: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-gi-māren “ankündigen, bekanntmachen” (Raven I 1963: 124). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-gi-sezzēn “aussetzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 519). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-gi-spentōn “aufwenden, zuerteilen” (Raven II 1967: 142). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-gi-suonen “im voraus entscheiden” (Raven I 1963: 218). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-goumen “bekommen, erhalten” (Raven I 1963: 60). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-gȳman*, *for-gȳman* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 128) “to neglect, pass by, transgress”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fora-ir-teilen “im voraus bestimmen oder zum Ziele setzen” (Raven I 1963: 223). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-ir-wegen “aufrücken lassen, befördern zu höherem Amte” (Raven I 1963: 329). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-kunden “prophezeien, verkünden, verkündigen, bekanntmachen, berichten, aussagen, ausrufen, erklären, angeben, hermelden, anzeigen, proklamieren” (Raven I 1963: 99). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fore-cȳðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 126) “to make known (beforehand), tell forth; prophesy”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fora-leggen “vorausbestimmen, vorschreiben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 365). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-lernēn “vorher bedenken oder erwägen, sich im voraus Sorge machen” (Raven II 1967: 235). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-(h)linēn “entspringen, überragen, hervorragen” (Raven II 1967: 237). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-merren “verhindern, hemmen, fesseln” (Raven I 1963: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-nemnen “vorhersagen, vorschreiben, im Voraus sagen” (Raven I 1963: 138). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fore-nemnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 127) “to mention beforehand”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fora-rucken “hervorragend, sich auszeichnen” (Raven I 1963: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-sagen “sagen, voran-, vorhersagen, aussprechen, feierlich verkünden, prophezeien, prophetisch reden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 502). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-sagēn “predigen” (Raven II 1967: 251). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fore-secgan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 127) “to mention before; proclaim, preach, fortell”; ON *fyrir-segja* (Fritzner I 1954: 522) “to say beforehand”. Therefore a NWGmc prefix formation.

fora-sezzēn “voransetzen, befehligen, verwalten, vorziehen, festsetzen, vorausbestimmen, mit etwas begabt oder ausgestattet” (Raven I 1963: 173). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fore-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 127) “to place before, shut in, propose, precede, prefer”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fora-scaffōn “im voraus bestimmen oder bestellen” (Raven II 1967: 132). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-sorgēn “verwalten, Statthalter, Stellvertreter oder Bevollmächtigter, kaiserlicher Procurator” (Raven II 1967: 257). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *for-sorgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 132) “to despond”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fora-sprāhōn “vorausteilen, vorausgehen” (Raven II 1967: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-strecken “niederstrecken, sich zu Boden werfen und liegen” (Raven I 1963: 209). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-suonen “eine Vorentscheidung abgeben, im voraus entscheiden” (Raven I 1963: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-zeihhanen “vorbezeichnen, vorbedeuten” (Raven I 1963: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fora-zucken “vorziehen, gedeihen lassen, rückgängig machen” (Raven I 1963: 281). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

forahten, forhten, furhten “fürchten, sich fürchten, sich scheuen” (Raven I 1963: 52). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *forhtian* I (Kluge 1989: 237) “fürchten”; OE *fyrhtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 145) “to fear, tremble; frighten, terrify”; Gothic *faurhtjan* I (Kluge 1989: 237) “to be afraid”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **furhtijanan* (Kluge 1989: 237) “fürchten”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *-foraht* (Kluge 1989: 237) “furchtsam”; OS *for(a)ht* (Kluge 1989: 237) “furchtsam”; OE *forht* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 129) “fearful, timid, affrighted; terrible, dreadful, formidable”; Gothic *faurhts* (Kluge

1989: 237) “fearful, afraid”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **furhtaz* (Kluge 1989: 237) “furchtsam”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

fordarōn “fördern, fordern, verlangen, erwünschen, nachstreben” (Raven II 1967: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fordaro* comp. adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 173) “vortrefflicher, früher, recht”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *gi-*

formōn “erwärmen, warm halten, sich für jemanden abmühen, pflegen” (Raven II 1967: 48). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *formōn* II (Holthausen 1967: 22) “helfen, schützen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **formōjan*. Further etymology unclear.

forscōn “forschen, erforschen, ausfindig machen, nachdenken, grübeln, fragen nach etwas (+gen.), befragen, zweifeln, ratlos sein” (Raven II 1967: 48). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **forskōjan* “forschen”. This verb is an ‘sk-present’ formation, which has clear parallels in the following: Skt *prcchati* (Pokorny I 1956: 821) “fragt”; Latin *poscere* (Pokorny I 1956: 821) “fordern, verlangen, bitten”; OIr. *imm-chom-arc* (Pokorny I 1956: 821) “gegenseitiges Fragen, Begrüßen usw.”; Ir. *arco* (Pokorny I 1956: 821) “ich bitte”. The forms attested above allow us to reconstruct an IE **prskō-* (<**prkskō-*) “ich frage, bitte”, an ‘sk-present’ formation deriving ultimately from the IE *√*perk-*, **prek-*, **prk-* (Pokorny I 1956: 821) “fragen, bitten”, from which base the following may be derived: OHG *frāga* (Kluge 1989: 229) “Frage”; OHG *frāgēn* III (Kluge 1989: 229) “fragen”; Gothic *fraihnan* IV (Pokorny I 1956: 822) “fragen”; OCS *prosi* (Kluge 1989: 229) “erbitten, verlangen”; Lith. *piršti* (Kluge 1989: 229) “für jemanden um die Hand eines Mädchens anhalten”; Latin *precor* deponant (Kluge 1989: 229) “ich bitte, bete”. Despite the fact that an attested form of the verb is confined to OHG, these IE parallels, along with the fact that ‘sk-presents’ are generally archaic in nature, provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

fort-brengen “von sich geben, hervorbringen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 76). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *forð-brengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 133) “to bring, produce; bring to pass, accomplish; bring forward”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

fort-bringen “hervorgehen, auftreten, aufstoßen, rülpfen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fowen “sieben, Asche streuen lassen” (Raven I 1963: 294). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **fujan* “sieben, reinigen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut zero-grade of IE *√*peu-*, **peua*, **pu-* (Pokorny I 1956: 827) “reinigen, läutern, sieben”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *paváyati* (Pokorny I 1956: 827) “reinigt, läutert”; Latin *putāre* dental extension (Pokorny I 1956: 827) “reinigen”; Mlr. *ūr* (Pokorny I 1956: 827) “neu, frisch, edel”; Welsh *ir* (Pokorny I 1956: 827) “frisch, grün”. This verb is confined to OHG, there being no other forms in Gmc with which it can be compared. Nevertheless, there are IE parallels, and these provide suitable evidence to allow for this verb to be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum.

frāgēn “(+acc. pers. et gen. rei)(intrans.) fragen, eine Frage stellen, forschen oder fragen nach; (trans.) fragen, befragen, erfragen, fragen nach oder um, erforschen, durchforschen, nachforschen, untersuchen, dringend fordern oder erheischen, wiederholt fragen, um viele Einzelheiten bitten” (Raven II 1967: 216). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *frāgōn* II (Kluge 1989: 229) “fragen”; OFs. *frāgia* II (Kluge 1989: 229) “fragen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **frāgējan* (Kluge 1989: 229) “fragen”. The verb is derived from the

following nominal base: OHG *frāga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 174) “Frage, Untersuchung, Befragung”; MLG *vrāge* (Pfeifer I 1989: 467) “Frage”; OFs. *frāga* (Kluge 1989: 229) “Frage”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **frāgō* “Frage”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *gi-*, *gi-in(t)-*, *in(t)-*, *ir-*.

fram-beiten “hervortragen, anführen” (Raven I 1963: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG Prefix formation.

fram-breiten “fortjagen” (Raven I 1963: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-bringen “ans Licht bringen, eröffnen, bekanntmachen, überbringen” (Raven I 1963: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-fuoren “hervor-, fort-, wegfahren, fördern” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-gi-fuoren “födern, zu weit führen” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-gi-leiten “hervorbringen, erzeugen, erschaffen” (Raven I 1963: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-gi-wīsen “aufforden, anregen” (Raven I 1963: 267). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-ir-flougen “vertreiben, verbannen” (Raven I 1963: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-kunden “veröffentlichen, öffentlich anschlagen” (Raven I 1963: 99). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-luogēn “hervor-, überragen” (Raven II 1967: 241). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(cf. OE *fram-lōcian* II mit Verschärfung oder Variation des Auslauts (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 137) “to look back”).

fram-reihhen “aus-, hin-, zu Boden strecken, ausdehnen, sich erstrecken, ausbreiten” (Raven I 1963: 149). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-rucken “sich fortbewegen, vorbeigehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 496). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-sagen “ankündigen, veröffentlichen, eine Verordnung erlassen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 502). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-sezzēn “jemandem etwas vorlegen oder darlegen, vorsetzen” (Raven I 1963: 173). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-scorrēn “hervorragen (von Felsen)” (Raven II 1967: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-scouwōn “sehen, voraussehen” (Raven II 1967: 135). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fram-scuzzen “[zum Ausgleich] hervorspringen” (Raven I 1963: 190). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

framspuotisōn “einer Sache Erfolg verleihen, etwas segnen, zu etwas gedeihen geben, gedeihen, glücken, gelingen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *framspuot* (Starck and Wells 1990: 176) “Erfolg”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with s-extension).

fram-suohhen (Raven I 1963: 216). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fratōn “wund machen, verletzen” (Raven II 1967: 48). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *frat* (Starck and Wells 1990: 176) “entzündet, eitrig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

fravalen “schänden, entehren, verletzen, entweihen, beflecken” (Raven I 1963: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. Nonminal: OHG *fravali* (Starck and Wells 1990: 176) “unverschämt, verwegen, eigensinnig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

frehten “übel zurichten, blutig opfern” (Raven I 1963: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

freidēn “abtrünnig werden, das Abfallen des Menschen von Gott” (Raven II 1967: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *freidi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 177) “abtrünnig vom Glauben”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

freisōn “drohen, gefährdet sein, in Gefahr bringen” (Raven II 1967: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *freisa*, *freisī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 177) “Untergang, Gefahr, Verderben”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

freissamōn “drohen, in Gefahr schweben, gefährdet oder bedroht sein” (Raven II 1967: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *freissam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 177) “unheilvoll, gefährlich, verderblich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fremiden “vermeiden, ausweichen” (Raven I 1963: 43). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *framþjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 124) “to estrange”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **framþijanan* “to alienate, estrange”. cf. OE *fremdian* II, originally class I? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 138) “to alienate, estrange; curse, anathematize, excommunicate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fremidi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 177) “fremd”; OS *fremīdi* (Kluge 1989: 231) “fremd”; OFs. *fremethe* (Heyne 1905: 220) “strange”; OE *fremede*, *fremde* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 138) “strange, foreign, estranged from, devoid of”; Gothic *framþeis* (Lehmann 1986: 124) “foreign, alien”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **framþjaz* (Kluge 1989: 231) “fremd”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

fremmen “herbeischaffen, verwirklichen” (Raven I 1963: 294). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fremmian* I (Schade I 1882: 219) “ausführen, vollbringen”; OFs. *frem(m)a* I (de Vries 1962: 141). OE *fremman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 138) “to further, advance, support; frame, make, do, accomplish, perfect, perpetrate, commit, afford”; ON *fremja* I (de Vries 1962: 141) “Fördern, ausführen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **framijanan* “to accomplish, do, advance”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fram* adv (Schade I 1882: 219) “vorwärts, fort, weiter; sofort”; OS *fram* adv (Schade I 1882: 219). OFs. *fram*, *from* adv (de Vries 1962: 139) “vorwärts”; OE *fram*, *from* adv (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 137) “from, forth, out, away”; ON *fram* adv (de Vries 1962: 139) “vorwärts”; Gothic

fram adv (de Vries 1962: 139). We can therefore reconstruct a Gmc **fram* adv “further, away, forward”. Therefore a NWGmc deadverbial verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *duruh-gi-*, *gi-*

frewen, *frouwen* “(+gen.) (sich) freuen, erfreuen, froh machen” (Raven I 1963: 294). cf. OHG *frōōn*, *frouwōn* II; OHG *frōēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *vrouwen* (Kluge 1989: 232) “freuen”; MDu. *vrouwen* (Kluge 1989: 232) “freuen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **frawijan* (Kluge 1989: 232) “freuen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *frō* (Kluge 1989: 233) “froh”; OS *frā* (Kluge 1989: 233) “froh”; OFs. *frē* (Kluge 1989: 233) “froh”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **frawaz* (Kluge 1989: 233) “froh”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *eban-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

frezzen “abweiden, fressen machen, heimsuchen” (Raven I 1963: 295). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *frettan* I (Seebold 1970: 180) “to feed upon, consume”; Gothic *fra-atjan* I (Seebold 1970: 180) “zum Essen austeilen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fra-atejanan* (Seebold 1970: 180) “fressen”. Prefix formation from the causative deverbative **atejanan* (Seebold 1970: 180) “essen machen” (see under *ezzen*). The OHG and OE forms are merged compounds of the earlier prefix form in *fra-*, this merger a secondary development. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

fridōn “aussöhnen, beschützen, eifern” (Raven II 1967: 49). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fridōn* II (Schade I 1882: 224) “aussöhnen”; OFs. *frethia*, *ferdia* II (de Vries 1962: 142) “aussöhnen”; OE *fridian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 140) “to make peace with, be at peace with; cherish, protect, guard, defend, keep; observe”; ON *fríða* II (de Vries 1962: 142) “friedlich machen, versöhnen”; Gothic *ga-friþon* II (de Vries 1962: 142) “versöhnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **friþōjanan* “to make peace”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fridu* (Starck and Wells 1990: 178) “Friede(n)”; OS *fridu* (Kluge 1989: 232) “Friede(n)”; OFs. *fretho* (Kluge 1989: 232) “Friede(n)”; OE *friþ* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 140) “peace, tranquility, security”; ON *fríðr* (Kluge 1989: 232) “Friede, Schutz”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **friþuz* (Kluge 1989: 232) “Friede”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

friste “verbreiten, bekanntmachen, erhalten, bewahren, verschieben, verschieden sein” (Raven I 1963: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *frist* (Schützeichel 1969: 59) “Zeit(raum), bestimmte Zeit, Frist; Zeitpunkt, Augenblick; Gelegenheit; Zögern”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fristōn “büßen, büßen lassen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *fristen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

frīlen “lieben, wärmen, pflegen, hüten” (Raven I 1963: 44). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *frīdōn* II, originally class I? (Lehmann 1986: 127); ON *fríða* II, originally class I? (Lehmann 1986: 127) “schützen, bewahren, schmücken”; Gothic *freidjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 127) “to take care of”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **frīðijanan* “to protect, care for, love”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *frīl-* in *frīhof* (Lehmann 1986: 127) “Friedhof”, (actually): “a cared for place”; OE *frīð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 140) “beautiful, stately”; ON *fríðr* (Lehmann 1986: 127) “hübsch, friedlich, sicher, eigentlich geschont”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **frīðaz* (Lehmann 1986: 127) “cared for (and thus pretty, attractive)”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

frōēn “froh sein, beglückwünschen, sich rühmen, frohlocken, jubeln” (Raven II 1967: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *frō* (Starck and Wells 1990: 179) “froh, fröhlich, heiter”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

frōnen “veröffentlichen, öffentlich bekanntmachen, jemanden ächten” (Raven I 1963: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *frōno* (Schützeichel 1969: 59) “herrlich, heilig, dem Herrn gehörig, des Herrn; öffentlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

frōōn, frouwōn “froh sein, jubeln, frohlocken” (Raven II 1967: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *frōēn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

frummen “(be)fördern, verrichten, begünstigen, ausführen, pflegend geleiten, vollbringen, vorwärts bringen oder schaffen, begehen, machen, tun” (Raven I 1963: 295). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fruma* (Kluge 1989: 233) “Vorteil, Nutzen, Wohl, Hilfsmittel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, duruh-, folla-, gi-, ūz-*

fruoten “unterrichten, belehren, bilden, unterweisen” (Raven I 1963: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fruot* (Schützeichel 1969: 60) “klug, weise, erfahren”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

fūhten “feuchten, bewässern” (Raven I 1963: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *fūhtōn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

fūhtōn “feucht sein” (Raven II 1967: 49). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fūhtian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 142) “to be moist”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fūht, fūhti* (Starck and Wells 1990: 182) “feucht, naß, bewässert”; OE *fūht* (Kluge 1989: 211) “damp, moist, wet”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fūhtiz* (Kluge 1989: 211) “feucht”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

fūlēn “faulen, verfaulen, in Fäulnis geraten, verwesen, träge sein, (vom Fleisch) dahinschwenden, (von Wundern) eitem” (Raven II 1967: 217). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fūlian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 142) “to be or become foul, decay, rot”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fūlējan* “to be or become foul”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fūl* (Starck and Wells 1990: 182) “faul, verwest, angegangen”; OFs. *fūl* (Kluge 1989: 205) “faul”; OE *fūl* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 142) “foul, unclean, impure, vile, corrupt, rotten, guilty”; ON *fūll* (Kluge 1989: 205) “faul, stinkend”; Gothic *ful* (Kluge 1989: 205) “foul”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc *fūlaz* (Kluge 1989: 205) “faul”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-, ir-*

fulken “verstopfen, drängen, zusammendrängen, häufen” (Raven I 1963: 45). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *fylkja* I (Fritzner I 1954: 510) “to marshal troops (for an imminent battle)”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fulkijanan* “to horde together, assemble, gather, marshal troops”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *folc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 169) “Volk, Volksmenge, Kohorte”; OS *folk* (Kluge 1989: 768) “Volk”; OFs. *folk* (Kluge 1989: 768) “Volk”; OE *folc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 123) “folk, people, nation, tribe; troop, army; collection or class of persons; laity”; ON *folk* (Kluge 1989: 768) “Volk, Kriegsvolk”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fulkan* (Kluge 1989: 768) “Volk, Kriegsvolk”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

fullen “anfüllen, füllen, erfüllen, vollenden, voll machen” (Raven I 1963: 45). cf. OHG *folōn* II (Raven II 1967: 46). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fullian* I (Kluge 1989: 236) “füllen”; OFs. *fella* I (Kluge 1989: 236) “füllen”; OE *fyllan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 143) “to fill, replenish, satisfy, cram, stuff, finish, complete, fulfil”; ON *fylla* I (Kluge 1989: 236) “füllen”; Gothic *fulljan* I (Kluge 1989: 236) “to fill”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fullijanan* (Kluge 1989: 236) “to fill, make full”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fol* (Starck and Wells 1990: 168) “voll, trüchtig, beladen”; OS *ful(l)* (Kluge 1989: 768) “voll”; OFs. *ful(l)* (Kluge 1989: 768) “voll”; OE *full* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 142) “full, filled, complete, entire”; ON *fullr* (Kluge 1989: 768) “voll”; Gothic *fulls* (Kluge 1989: 768) “full”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fullaz* (Kluge 1989: 768) “full”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *duruh-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *zuo-ir-*

fundamentōn “auf ewig feststehen lassen” (Raven II 1967: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fundament* (Starck and Wells 1990: 183) “Grund, Grundlage” < Latin *fundamentum* (Simpson 1993: 258) “foundation, basis”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

finden “begehen, streben, erlangen, sich aufmachen” (Raven I 1963: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct an earlier form **fundjan* (Seebold 1970: 194) class I zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **fenþanan* (Seebold 1970: 193) “finden” (see under *fantōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *widar-*

**fundōn* “streben, beabsichtigen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fundōn* II (Seebold 1970: 194) “streben”; OE *fundian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 143) “to tend to, wish for, strive after, go, set out, go forward, hasten”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fundōjan* (Seebold 1970: 194) class II deverbative from strong verb **fenþanan* (Seebold 1970: 193) “finden” (see under *fantōn*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

fuogen “darlegen, vortragen, näher bringen, anpassen, dazutun” (Raven I 1963: 46). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fōgian* I (Kluge 1989: 235) “to join”; OFs. *fōgia* II (Kluge 1989: 235) “to join”; OE *fēgan* I (Kluge 1989: 235) “to join, bind, unite, fix, adapt; compose, confine”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fōgian* “fügen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE *√*pāk-* (Kluge 1989: 235) “befestigen, fest machen, zusammenfügen”, from which base the following may be also derived: Skt *pāsyati* (Kluge 1989: 235) “bindet”; Skt *pāśa-* (Kluge 1989: 235) “Schlinge”; Greek *πῆγνυμι* (Kluge 1989: 235) “ich befestige”; Latin *paciscō* (Pokorny I 1956: 788) “einen Vertrag oder Vergleich festmachen, abschließen”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *dara-*, *gi-*, *zi-*, *zisamene-*, *zisamene-gi-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

fuolen “fühlen, empfinden, liebkosen, betasten, durchstechen” (Raven I 1963: 48). cf. OHG *folōn* II (Raven II 1967: 46). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *(gi)-fuolen* I (Kluge 1989: 235) “fühlen”; OFs. *fēla* I (Kluge 1989: 235) “fühlen”; OE *fēlan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 113) “to feel, perceive, touch”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fōljan* “to feel”. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are unclear. Perhaps the most convincing etymology for this verb is a derivation from the IE *√*pol-* **pōl-* (Pfeifer I 1989: 484) “geschwollen, dick, groß”, from which base the following may also be derived: ON *falma*,

felma (Pokorny I 1956: 841) “tappen, tasten”; Latin *pollex* (Pfeifer I 1989: 484) “Daumen, große Zehe”; ORuss. *palc* (Pfeifer I 1989: 484) “Daumen”; Bulg. *palam* (Pfeifer I 1989: 484) “Suche”; Pers. *pālidan* (Pokorny I 1956: 841) “suchen, spüren”. Although confined to WGmc and despite the absence of suitably attested verbal forms outside Gmc to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb, this verb has no other convincing derivational sources within Gmc. It should therefore be regarded as pre-Gmc, in which case it may represent a denominative from the nominal source meaning “thumb” attested above.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*

fuoren “richten, lenken, führen” (Raven I 1963: 48). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fōrian* I (Seebold 1970: 188) “führen”; OFs. *fēra* I (Seebold 1970: 188) “bringen”; OE *fēran*, *fēran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 117) “to go, depart, proceed, set out, march, make a journey, travel, march, sail; behave, act”; ON *fōra* I (Seebold 1970: 188) “bringen, führen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **fōrejanan* (Seebold 1970: 188) “führen”, causative of strong verb **faranan* (Seebold 1970: 186) “fahren”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *faran* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 187) “fahren, gehen, sich verhalten, ergehen”; OS *faran* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 187) “fahren, gehen”; OFs. *fara* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 187) “fahren, angreifen”; OE *faran* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 112) “to set forth, go, travel, wander, proceed; to be, happen, exist, act; fare, get on, undergo, suffer”; ON *fara* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 186) “fahren, gehen, reisen, reiten, geschehen, verlieren; sich benehmen; sterben; hervorkommen, aufgehen; erfahren, erleiden”; Gothic *faran* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 186) “to wander, travel”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*, *ana-*, *ana-gi-*, *dana-*, *dara-*, *fir-*, *fram-*, *fram-gi-*, *gi-*, *heim-*, *hera-*, *hina-*, *in-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *miti-*, *nāh-*, *ubar-*, *ūf-*, *umbi-*, *ūz-*, *widar-*, *zi(r)-*, *zuo-*

fuorōn “Nahrung schaffen, Unterhalt beschaffen, füttern, nähren” (Raven II 1967: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fuora* (Starck and Wells 1990: 183) “Nahrung, Speise, Traggestell”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fuoten “nähren, füttern, erquicken, pflegen, wachsen” (Raven I 1963: 51). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *fōdian* I (Kluge 1989: 238) “füttern”; OFs. *fēda* I (Lehmann 1986: 119) “füttern”; OE *fēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 113) “to feed, nourish, support, sustain, bring up, educate, bring forth, produce”; ON *fōða* I (Kluge 1989: 238) “nähren, erziehen”; Gothic *fodjan* I (Kluge 1989: 238) “to feed, nourish”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **fōdjanan* “to feed, make fed”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE **pa-t-* (Kluge 1989: 238) “nähren, füttern”, which is also attested in Greek *πατέομαι* (Kluge 1989: 238) “ich esse, trinke, verzehre”. This is a dental extension from IE *√*pā-* (Pokorny I 1956: 787) “füttern, nähren, weiden”, from which base the following may be derived: Latin *pāscere* sk-present (<**pās-skō*) (Pokorny I 1956: 787) “weiden lassen, füttern”; Latin *pātulum* (Pokorny I 1956: 787) “Futter”; Latin *pānis* (Pokorny I 1956: 787) “Brot”; OIr. *ain-chess* (Pokorny I 1956: 787) “Brotkorb”; OCS *paso*, *pasti* (Pokorny I 1956: 787) “weiden”; Toch.A *pās-* (Pokorny I 1956: 787) “hüten”; Toch.B *pāsk-* (Pokorny I 1956: 787) “hüten”; Hittite *pahš-* (*pahhaš-*) (Pokorny I 1956: 787) “schützen”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

fuotaren “weiden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. ON *fōdra* II (Fritzner I 1954: 449) “füttern, ernähren”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fuotar* (Kluge 1989: 238) “Futter, Nahrung, Lebensunterhalt”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

fuozfallōn “zu Füßen fallen” (Raven II 1967: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **fuozfall* “Fußfall”, which can be reconstructed from MHG *fuozval* (Schade I 1882: 133) “Fußfall”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

furben “putzen, sauber machen, kehren, fegen” (Raven I 1963: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **furbjān* “reinigen, putzen”. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are unclear. It may possibly derive from the ablaut zero-grade of IE $\sqrt{*prep-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 845) “in die Augen fallen; Erscheinung, Gestalt”, from which base the following may be derived: Armenian *erevim* (Pokorny I 1956: 845) “werde sichtbar, erscheine”; Greek *πρέπω* (Pokorny I 1956: 845) “ich falle in die Augen, erscheine, steche hervor, zeichne mich aus”; OIr. *richt* (Pokorny I 1956: 845) “Form, Gestalt”; Welsh *rhith* (Pokorny I 1956: 845) “species”. However, this etymology is uncertain and requires there to have been a significant semantic development within Gmc. The verb is therefore best considered as belonging to the OHG stratum. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

furdir-fir-dingōn “appellieren” (Raven II 1967: 26). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furdir-rucken “vorwärts rücken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 496). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furdir-sezzen “aufstellen, vorziehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 519). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

füren “entmannen” (Raven I 1963: 52). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fȳran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 144) “to castrate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **fūrjan* “to castrate”. Further etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

furhen, furen “furchen, pflügen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 185). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fȳran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 144) “to cut a furrow”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **furhijan* “to cut a furrow”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *furuh*, *furh* (Kluge 1989: 237) “Furche, kleiner Acker”; MLG *vore*, *vare* (Kluge 1989: 237) “Furche”; MDu. *vorke* (Kluge 1989: 237) “Furche”; OFs. *furch* (Kluge 1989: 237) “Furche”; OE *furh* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 143) “furrow, trench”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **furhō* (Kluge 1989: 237) “Furche”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

furi-bringen “vor-, hervortragen, hervorholen, hervorbringen, rülpfen, wiederkäuen” (Raven I 1963: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-dennen “vorstrecken, (reflex.) abwärts gehen lassen, etwas zur Verleumdung sagen, erhalten” (Raven I 1963: 289). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-fangōn “warnen, zuvorkommen, sich zusammentun” (Raven II 1967: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

furi-gi-heften “vorn anheften oder anstecken, anschlagen, vorn mit etwas beschlagen” (Raven I 1963: 65). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-gi-ilen “vorausseilen, voreilen” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-gi-sezzan “vortragen, verbreiten, vorstehen, offenbaren, aussetzen” (Raven I 1963: 175). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *faura-ga-satjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 296) “to bring to”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

furi-gi-stān “die Verwaltung oder den Oberbefehl über etwas geben, zum Herrscher machen” (Raven I 1963: 201). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-gripfen, furi-kripfen “wegnehmen, -rauben, ergreifen” (Raven I 1963: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-gurten “gürten, umgürten, umgeben, umkränzen” (Raven I 1963: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-hangēn “herab-, hervorhangen, sich hinneigen” (Raven II 1967: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-harēn “ausrufen, ausschreien” (Raven II 1967: 227). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-hartēn “hart werden, sich verhärten, *übtr.* gefühllos oder unempfindlich werden” (Raven II 1967: 227). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-heften “vorausnehmen, vorherfassen, gewinnen, früher zurücklegen, verkürzen” (Raven I 1963: 65). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-herten “ausdauern, aushalten” (Raven I 1963: 70). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-hullen “verhüllen” (Raven I 1963: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-ilen “hin und her-, umher-, einhergehen, gravitatisch oder stolz einherschreiten, marschieren, wandern über” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-ladōn “herbeirufen, vorladen” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-leiten “bringen, zurückführen, zurückbringen, verhehlt, bedecken” (Raven I 1963: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-reisōn “vorhergehen” (Raven II 1967: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-rucken “vorrücken, vorbei-, vorübergehen, -ziehen” (Raven I 1963: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-sagen “verschweigen, geheim halten” (Raven I 1963: 318). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-sagēn “einführen, Abscheid nehmen, geheim halten, verneinen, verschweigen” (Raven II 1967: 251). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-senten “vorsenden, aussenden” (Raven I 1963: 170). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *fore-sendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 127) “to send before”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

furi-sezzēn “vorsetzen, vorziehen, einsetzen, erzählen, darlegen” (Raven I 1963: 173). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-scorrēn “(von Schnitzwerk, erhabener Arbeit) hervorstehen, mit Relief verzieren” (Raven II 1967: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-scouwōn “hinschauen, Fürsorge tragen, voraussehen, besorgen” (Raven II 1967: 135). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-scricken “hervorstürzen, sich beeilen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 549). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-stecken “vorne anstecken, vorn mit etwas beschlagen [hier: mit einer eisernen Spitze versehen, den jungen Zieglein eiserne Maulkörbe antun]” (Raven I 1963: 201). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-stellen “verborgen oder versteckt sein” (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furistisōn “herrschen, [Fürst sein]” (Raven II 1967: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *furisto*, *furist* (Starck and Wells 1990: 186) “Fürst, Gebieter, einer der Vornehmsten”. This a substantivization of OHG *furisto* superlative adj (Starck and Wells 1990: 186) “erst, vorzüglichst, vornehmst”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with s-extension).

furi-stopfōn “(vom Auge) verschlossen sein” (Raven II 1967: 148). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-swihhōn “alleine umherschweifend aufkommen oder eintreten” (Raven II 1967: 153). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-ūf-rihten “aufsteigen” (Raven I 1963: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-wahhēn “vor Tagesanbruch erwachen” (Raven II 1967: 269). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-wartēn “hinblicken auf, hinschauen” (Raven II 1967: 270). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-weidōn “(von Schafen bei der Weide zu weit) gehen oder wandern” (Raven II 1967: 178). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-wergen “verfluchen, verdammen” (Raven I 1963: 259). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-wiften “verbrämen, zieren, (pret. part.) purpurverbrämt (von der Toga), (subst.) Schmuck, Zierde” (Raven I 1963: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-wirken “etwas vor ein Ding hinmachen, d.h. versperren, mit Schutt anfüllen” (Raven I 1963: 265). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-wurken “verbauen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 750). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

furi-zimbaren “(die Brunnen) verschütten, verbauen” (Raven I 1963: 278). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

fūstōn “ohrfeigen, mit der Faust schlagen” (Raven II 1967: 50). cf. OE *fystlian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 146) “to strike with the fist”. No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fūst* (Starck and Wells 1990: 187) “Faust, Höhlung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

G

gaganen, geginen “entgegenen, erwidern, begegnen, widerfahren” (Raven I 1963: 54). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *gegna* I (de Vries 1962: 160) “begegnen, geeignet sein, passen zu, geziemen, sich verabreden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **gag(i)nōjanan* “to meet, come together, encounter, reach agreement, reconcile”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gagan, gegin* adv., prep. (Pfeifer I 1989: 518) “gegen”; OS *gegin* (Kluge 1989: 251) “gegen”; OE *ongēan, ongēn* adv., prep. (Pfeifer I 1989: 518) “towards, against, opposite, contrary to; again, opposite, back”; ON *gegn* adv., prep. (Pfeifer I 1989: 518) “entgegen, zuwider”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **gag(i)na-* adv., prep. “against, opposite, towards, directly”. cf. ON *gegn* adj. (de Vries 1962: 160) “gerade, recht; angemessen, tüchtig”. Therefore a NWGmc deadverbial formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, int-*

gagan-ginēn “verschließen, (von den Ohren) = nicht hören wollen” (Raven II 1967: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gagan-hōren “gehörchen” (Raven I 1963: 74). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gagan-kēren “gegenkehren, umwenden, verwandeln, entgegenkehren, zukehren, hineintun” (Raven I 1963: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gagan-(h)liuten “widerhallen” (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gagan-mezzōn “vergleichen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 412). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gaganōn, geginōn sich verabreden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 188). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-gegnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969:150) “to meet”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **gag(a)nōjan, *geg(i)nōjan* “to meet, encounter”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *gaganen, geginen*). Therefore a WGmc deadverbial formation.

gagan-sezzen “(ent)setzen, vorhalten” (Raven I 1963: 174). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gagan-stellen “entgegenstellen” (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gāhen “sich beeilen, eilig treiben” (Raven I 1963: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gāhi* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 188) “voreilig, hastig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

gāhōn “eilen, sich beeilen” (Raven II 1967: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *gāhen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, ir-*

gackezzen “wild lärmern, toben, tosen, schreien, rauschen, schnattern, kreischen, ertönen, überhaupt Geräusch machen” (Raven I 1963: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **gakkatjan* intensive deverbative from an earlier verb belonging to the

Gmc complex **gak-*, **gag-*. Verbs belonging to this complex include the following: MHG *gāgen*, *gāgern* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “wie eine Gans schreien”; MLG *gagelen* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “gackern”; Mid.Engl. *gagelin* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “to gaggle”; ON *gaga* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “verspotten”. This complex ultimately derives from IE $\sqrt{*gha-gha}$, **ghe-ghe*, **ghi-ghi* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “Lautnachahmung für Gackern, schnattern”, from which base the following may also be derived: OIr. *gigren*, *giugrann* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “Gans”; Welsh *gwgrain* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “anas scotica”; OPruss. *gegalis* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “Taucher”; Lith. *gagù*, *gagėti* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “schnattern”; Latvian *gāgāt* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “wie Gänse schreien”; Russian *gagotátb* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “gackern, schnattern; laut lachen”; Albanian *gogēsínj* (Pokorny I 1956: 407) “gähne, rülpse”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

gackizzōn “gackern, schnattern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **gakkatōjan* class II intensive deverbative, probably from an earlier verb belonging to the Gmc complex **gak-*, **gag-* (see under *gackezzen*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

galstarōn “den Toten wieder lebendig machen, Bannspruch reden, heraufbeschwören” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *galstar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 189) “Bezauberung, Zauberei, Gaukelei”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

gangarōn “umherwandeln, umherziehen” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested.

We can therefore reconstruct a **gang(a)rōjan* class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from strong verb **ganganan* (Seebold 1970: 213) “gehen” (see under **gengen*). Therefore an OHG frequentative/continuative deverbative (formed with r-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *umbi-*

gansēn “weiß werden, eigentlich der Anfang des Schäumens der Wellenkämme unter dem Einfluß des Windes” (Raven II 1967: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb probably derives from OHG *gans* (Starck and Wells 1990: 191) “Gans, Ganserich”, this being used here metaphorically for whiteness. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ganzēn “ganz werden” (Raven II 1967: 218). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *genzen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

garawen “bereiten, fertig machen” (Raven I 1963: 55). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gar(u)wian* (Kluge 1989: 259) “fertig machen”; OE *gearwian* II but probably from class I by levelling (Kluge 1989: 259) “to make ready, prepare, procure, supply, put on, clothe”; ON *garva*, *gera* I (Kluge 1989: 259) “machen, tun, bereiten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **garwijanan* (Kluge 1989: 259) “fertig machen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *garo* (Kluge 1989: 244) “bereit, fertig”; OS *garu*, *garo* (Kluge 1989: 244) “bereit, fertig”; OE *gearu*, *gearo* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 150) “ready, prepared, complete, equipped”; ON *gorr* (Kluge 1989: 244) “bereit, geneigt, gerüstet”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **garwaz* (Kluge 1989: 244) “ready, prepared”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-zuo-*, *fora-*, *gi-*, *ingagan-*, *int-*

gartōn “stupfen, (Pferde mit dem Stachelstock) stechen, gestreift” (Raven II 1967: 51). cf. OHG *gerten* I (Raven I 1963: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gart* (Starck and Wells 1990: 192) “Stachel, Treibstecken, Gerte”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

gastluomen “als Gast einkehren, als Gast sich aufhalten” (Raven I 1963: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gastluomi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 193) “gastfreundlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

gatōn* “zusammenkommen, passen”. MHG *gaten* (Kluge 1989: 246) “zusammenkommen, passen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *gaden* (Kluge 1989: 246) “passen, gefallen, sich begatten”; OFs. *gadia* II (Kluge 1989: 246) “vereinigen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **gadōjan* (Kluge 1989: 246) “zusammenkommen, passen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE √ghadh-* (Pfeifer I 1989: 508) “vereinigen, eng verbunden sein, zusammenpassen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *gi-gat* (Pfeifer I 1989: 508) “zugehörig, passend”; OS *gi-gado* (Pfeifer I 1989: 508) “seinesgleichen, Genosse, Gefährte”; OCS *godb* (Pfeifer I 1989: 508) “Stunde, (passende) Zeit”; Skt *gadhyah* (Pfeifer I 1989: 508) “was man gerne festhält, was einem paßt”; Skt *āgadhitah* (Pfeifer I 1989: 508) “angeklammert”. Although confined to WGmc and despite the absence of suitably attested verbal forms outside Gmc to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb, assignment to a pre-Gmc stratum is still the most convincing etymology for this verb. In which case it may represent a pre-Gmc deadjectival formation from the nominal source meaning “suitable” attested above.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

gebōn “(be)schenken” (Raven II 1967: 51). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gebōn* II (Schade I 1882: 282) “einem (dat.) ein Geschenk machen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **gebōjan* “beschenken”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *geba* (Starck and Wells 1990: 193) “Gabe, Geschenk”; OS *geba*, *giba* (de Vries 1962: 171) “Gabe, Geschenk”; OFs. *jeve* (de Vries 1962: 171) “Gabe, Geschenk”; OE *giefu*, *gefu*, *gyfu* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 153) “giving, gift, favour, grace; sacrifice”; ON *gjof* (de Vries 1962: 171) “Gabe”; Gothic *giba* (de Vries 1962: 171) “gift”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **gebō* (Seebold 1970: 218) “gift”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

**geilen* “erheben, froh machen; lästern”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *gælan* I, with development of meaning (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 15) “to hinder, impede, keep in suspense; linger, delay; dupe”; Gothic *gailjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 139) “to delight, make joyful”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **gailjanan* “to make joyous, delight; to extol; to make luxurious, wanton, lustful or wicked”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *geil* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 195) “erhaben, hochmütig, übermütig”; OS *gāl* (Heyne 1905: 228) “lustig, föhlich; übermütig”; OE *gāl* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 147) “gay, light, wanton, frivolous; proud, wicked, bad”; cf. ON *geiligr* with suffix extension (Kluge 1989: 253) “schön, tüchtig”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **gailaz* “joyful, luxurious; wanton, frivolous; wicked, bad”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

geilēn “ausgelassen sein, froh werden, frohlocken, sich rühmen” (Raven II 1967: 218). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *gālian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 147) “to be wanton”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **gailējan* “to be lustful, wanton”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under **geilen*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

geilisōn “ausgelassen, übermütig, schwülstig sein” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under **geilen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

geinōn “gähnen, niesen, den Mund aufsperrern” (Raven II 1967: 52). cf. OHG *in-geinen* I (Raven I 1963: 56, 84). cf. OHG *ginēn* III (Raven II 1967: 218). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *gānian* II (Kluge 1989: 240) “to yawn, gape, open”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **gainōjan* (Seebold 1970: 219) class II deverbative from strong verb **geinan* (Seebold 1970: 219) “gähnen, klaffen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *be-gīnan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 219) “to open the mouth wide, swallow”; OE *tō-gīnan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 219) “to be opened, split, gape, yawn”; ON *gīna* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 219) “gähnen, schnappen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

gelbōn “(+dat.) übermütig einen in der Rede behandeln, ihn betrügen, einem etwas weis machen, einen anführen” (Raven II 1967: 52). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **gelbōjan* “to boast”. Etymology uncertain, but possibly a class II deverbative, with voicing of 'p' to 'b' by analogy with forms affected by Verner's Law, from strong verb **gelpanan* (Seebold 1970: 223) “prahlen”. Compare the form without voicing found in OS *galpōn* II (Seebold 1970: 223) “sich rühmen”. The strong verb is attested in the following: MHG *gelpfen*, *gelfen* present only (Seebold 1970: 223) “schreien, singen; prahlen”; MLG *ghelpen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 223) “schreien”; OE *gielpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 153) “to boast, exult; praise”; Dan. (dial.) *gjelpe* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 223) “klaffen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

gelzōn “äußern, aussagen, anflehen, übermütig sein” (Raven II 1967: 52). cf. OHG *gilōn* I (Raven II 1967: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. This is probably originally a class I intensive deverbative cognate with ON *gelta* I (de Vries 1962: 163) “bellen, schreien”, allowing a form **gelatjanan* (with loss of medial 'a') to be reconstructed. This form can thus be derived from the strong verb **gellanan* (Seebold 1970: 222) “gellen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *gellan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 222) “gellen, klingen, pfeifen”; MLG *ghellan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 222) “gellen”; OE *giellan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 153) “to yell, sound, shout”; ON *gjalla* st. vb. (Seebold 1970: 222) “schreien, krächzen, knarren”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (with change of class to class II).

**gengen* “gehen, reiten”. cf. OHG *ana-gangōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *gengan* I, preterite sg. *gengde* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 151) “to go, ride”; Gothic **gaggjan* I, can possibly be reconstructed from the hapx legomenon *gaggida* preterite sg. (Seebold 1970: 214) “gehen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **gangejanan* (Seebold 1970: 214) “gehen”, class I deverbative formation from strong verb **ganganan* (Seebold 1970: 213) “gehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *gangan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 214) “gehen”; OS *gangan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 214) “gehen, wandeln”; OFs. *gunga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 214) “gehen, halten”; OE *gangan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 148) “to go, come, move, walk, proceed, traverse”; ON *ganga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 214) “gehen, wandern; sich anschicken zu”; Gothic *gaggan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 214) “gehen”. Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zi-*

genren “zeugen; generäre” (Raven I 1963: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. Loan verb (with loss of medial syllable) from Latin *generāre* (Lewis and Short 1966: 806) “to beget, engender, produce, create”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

genzen “erhalten, erretten, behüten, beglücken” (Raven I 1963: 56). cf. OHG *ganzēn* III (Raven II 1967: 218). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ganz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 191) “ganz, vollständig; unversehrt, unverletzt, ungeteilt; heil, gesund; vollkommen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

gerōn “begehren, verlangen, wünschen” (Kluge 1989: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ger* (Starck and Wells 1990: 197) “begierig, geizig, habsüchtig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

germinōn, karminōn “besingen, beschwören, bezaubern, Zaubersprüche her murmeln, verzaubern, faseln, spotten” (Raven II 1967: 52). No cognate verbs are attested. Loan verb < Medieval Latin *carmināre* (Niermeyer 1976: 144) “to sing; bewitch”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

gerōn “begehren, verlangen, streben, wünschen, herholen(?), leidenschaftlich entflammt und grimmig sein” (Raven II 1967: 52). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *gerōn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-, gi-, hina-*

gerten “anstoßen, antreiben, bewegen, stacheln, quälen, beunruhigen, anspornen” (Raven I 1963: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *gartōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

geskizzen “gähnen, den Mund aufsperrn” (Raven I 1963: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **giskatijan* “gähnen”, intensive deverbative from WGmc **giskōjan* “gähnen” (see under *gescōn*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

gescōn “gähnen” (Raven II 1967: 53). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *giscian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 155) “to sob”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **giskōjan* “to yawn”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably best regarded as an ‘sk-present’ which ultimately derives from the IE $\sqrt{*ghē-}$, **ghā-*, **ghēi-*, **ghē-* (Pokorny I 1956: 419) “gähnen, klaffen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Norw (dial) *geiska* sk-present (Pokorny I 1956: 420) “die Beine auspreizen”; Latin *hāscere* sk-present (Pokorny I 1956: 420) “gähnen, klaffen”; Latin *hiāre* (Pokorny I 1956: 419) “gähnen, klaffen, aufgesperrt sein”; Greek *χάσκω* sk-present (Pokorny I 1956: 419) “ich gähne, klaffe”; OCS *zījaja, zījati* (Pokorny I 1956: 420) “den Mund geöffnet halten”; Lith. *ziōjuti* (Pokorny I 1956: 419) “öffnen”; Lith. *ziōtis* (Pokorny I 1956: 419) “gähnen”. The ‘sk-present’ formations attested above differ too greatly in their vocalism to be seen as exact parallels. They nevertheless present sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

gewōn “gähnen, den Mund aufsperrn, die Zähne fletschen” (Raven II 1967: 53). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *giwian, giowian* II (Pokorny I 1956: 420) “verlangen, fordern; (originally) mit offenem Munde, gierig wonach lechzen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **gi(w)ōjan* intervocalic ‘w’ glide is a secondary development “gähnen, klaffen”. Ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*ghē-}$, **ghā-*, **ghēi-*, **ghē-* (Pokorny I 1956: 419) “gähnen, klaffen” (see under *gescōn*). Despite the fact that the verb is not attested in the Gmc languages outside OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a possible pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

gi-abuhōn “vertilgen, beseitigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-agaleizōn “emsig erstreben, sich beeifern, etwas eifrig tun” (Raven II 1967: 4). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-agaleizzen “emsig erstreben” (Raven I 1963: 1). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-āgezōn “geistig tilgen, in Vergessenheit bringen” (Raven II 1967: 4). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ahtōn “bestimmen, beratend festsetzen” (Raven II 1967: 5). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-eahtian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 93) “to esteem, estimate; consult about, consider deliberate, watch over”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-altinōn “etwas hinauszögern” (Raven II 1967: 5). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ambahten “Hilfsdienste leisten” (Raven I 1963: 2). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-ambihtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to minister, serve”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ana-brehhōn “in Wut ausbrechen” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-anazzen “aufreizen, beschleunigen, aufhetzen” (Raven I 1963: 3). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-angusten “änstigen” (Raven I 1963: 3). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-antarōn “nachahmen, nacheifern” (Raven II 1967: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-antheizzōn “geloben, opfern” (Raven II 1967: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-antlāzzōn “Ablaß erteilen, verzeihen” (Raven II 1967: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-antseidōn, *gi-antseidigōn* “verteidigen” (Raven II 1967: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-antwurten “antworten (auf)” (Raven I 1963: 4). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-andwyrðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 21) “to answer, reply, respond”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *widar-*

gi-argirōn “verschlimmern, verderben” (Raven II 1967: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-arinden “aufhetzen, erbittern, ganz rauh machen” (Raven I 1963: 5). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Probably a deadjectival formation with scribal variation of 'e' : 'i' from OHG *arendi* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 631) “rauh, hart, streng, etwas was durch Schärfe oder Härtebessern, züchtigen will, gebraucht von der Straf- oder Bußrede”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-arnēn “verdienen, erlangen, würdig sein” (Raven II 1967: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-artōn “bebauen, erackern, verschönern” (Raven II 1967: 11). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-eardian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 95) “to inhabit, dwell, abide, live”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-āruntōn “einen üblen Ruf bekommen, verwildern lassen, vom Gehorsam gegen Gott abweichen” (Raven II 1967: 10). OE *ge-ærendian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 9) “to go on an errand, carry a message, send word to”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-arzātōn “ärztlich behandeln, heilen” (Raven II 1967: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *arzāt* (Kluge 1989: 42) “Arzt” < MLatin *archiator* (Kluge 1989: 42) “Oberarzt, Leibarzt” < Greek ἀρχί-ἄτρος (Kluge 1989: 42) “Oberarzt, Leibarzt”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-arzīnōn “ärztlich behandeln, heilen” (Raven II 1967: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. See *gi-arzātōn*. The n-form is probably due to analogy with earlier OHG *lāhhinōn* (Pfeifer I 1989: 80) “heilen” < OHG *lāhhi* (Pfeifer I 1989: 80) “Heilkundiger”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-ātamōn “verzagen (d.h. des Geistes)” (Raven II 1967: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-auhhōn “vermehrten” (Raven II 1967: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zisamene-*, *zuo-*

gi-avalōn “sich beeifern” (Raven II 1967: 3). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-avaren, *gi-abaren* “wiederholen” (Raven I 1963: 1). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-avarōn “wiederholen” (Raven I 1963: 1). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-āwiggōn “vom Wege abirren” (Raven II 1967: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-āwizzōn “spotten, verhöhnen, sticheln” (Raven II 1967: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-badōn “baden, taufen” (Raven II 1967: 12). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-baðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 33) “to wash, bathe”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-balden “feststehen, vorausnehmen” (Raven I 1963: 6). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-bieldan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 48) “to encourage, excite, impel, exhort, confirm”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-bannōn “bannen, vor Gericht fordern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-banōn “anregen, auffordern” (Raven II 1967: 13). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-barōn “entblößen, offenbaren, verraten, (Körperteile) hervorstrecken (= entblößen), sich gebären, sich benehmen, (kahl und schmutzig) herumgehen, sich zeigen” (Raven II 1967: 13).

No cognate verbs are attested. OE *gi-barian* II (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 291) “to bare, take the covering off”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-beiten “nötigen” (Raven I 1963: 6). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-bādan* I (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 290) “to compel, constrain, force, impel, urge, oppress”; Gothic *ga-baidjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 56) “to compel”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-beraltōn “(auf)klären, verheerlichen” (Raven II 1967: 14). cf. OHG *berahten* I; OHG *berahtēn* III. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

gi-berahftōn “befruchten, fruchtbar machen” (Raven II 1967: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-betōn “beten, Gottesdienst tun” (Raven II 1967: 16). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-bezzirōn bessern, erbauen, bevorteilen, gewinnen, Straflosigkeit (= Gerechtigkeit) üben, nützen” (Raven II 1967: 16). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-beterian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 46) “to better, improve”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-biderben “Vorteil haben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-biheizōn “verbünden, ein Bündnis schließen, vereinigen, miteinander abmachen oder abschließen” (Raven II 1967: 17). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-biliden “sich anpassen, sich verwandeln” (Schützeichel 1969, p.15). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-bilidōn “bilden, gestalten, verwandeln, sich fest zusammenballen, sich anpassen” (Raven II 1967: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-birīgōn “befruchten, fruchtbar machen” (Raven II 1967: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-birnen “besänftigen, ermuntern” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-bittaren “erbittern” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-blabbetzen “veröffentlichen, bekanntmachen” (Raven I 1963: 8). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-blāen “anblasen, anstiften” (Raven I 1963: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-blahmālōn “mit eingegrabener Arbeit verziert” (Raven II 1967: 19). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-blesten “durchbohren” (Raven I 1963: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *in-*

gi-blīden “erfreuen” (Raven I 1963: 10). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *ga-bleiþjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 75) “to take pity”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-blōden “entmutigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 67). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *ga-blaupþjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 75) “abschaffen”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-bluoen “keimen” (Raven I 1963: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-bluoten “blutigierig sein” (Raven I 1963: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-bluotīgōn “blutig schlagen, mit Blut beflecken” (Raven II 1967: 20). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-blōdegian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 52) “to be bloodthirsty, make bloody”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-bolezzen “ausatmen, atmen” (Raven I 1963: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-borgēn “(+gen. rei) sich in acht nehmen, sich hüten vor” (Raven II 1967: 207). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-bougen “einbiegen” (Raven I 1963: 11). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-bīegan*, *ge-byrgan* I (Seebold 1970: 111) “to bend, turn, turn back, incline; depress, abase, humiliate; subject”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-bouhnen, *gi-bouhhanen* “zustimmen, genehmigen” (Raven I 1963: 12). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-breiten “verbreiten” (Raven I 1963: 13). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-brædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 55) “to make broad, broaden, extend, spread”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-brieven “beschreiben, abkürzen” (Raven I 1963: 15). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-brittilōn “zügeln” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *brittil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 78) “Zaum, Zügel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*). Prefix formations derived from this verb: *widar-*

gi-brohhisōn “brechen, zerbröckeln” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-brohhōn “(ein)brocken, einkrümeln, zerbröckeln, zerstückeln, Fladen” (Raven II 1967: 23). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-brocian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 57) “to crush, hurt, afflict, molest”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-brūhhen “gebrauchen” (Raven I 1963: 20). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-brutten “entsetzen, erschrecken” (Raven I 1963: 21). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-bryddan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1471) “to frighten, terrify”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-buosumen “krümmen, biegen, runden” (Raven I 1963: 21). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *in-*

gi-buosumōn “ausbuchten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-buozzen “büßen, wiederherstellen, heilen, sich erholen” (Raven I 1963: 22). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-bōtian* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1515). OE *ge-betan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1515). Gothic *ga-botjan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1515). Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-buridinōn “(+gen.) belasten mit, beladen” (Raven II 1967: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-burren, *gi-burien* “geschehen, (da)zukommen, zustoßen, (nach der Frauen Weise) unwohl sein, nötig sein, gebühren, (reflex.) sich belaufen auf, sich ereignen” (Raven 1963: 287). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-burian* I (Kluge 1989: 249) “sich gehören, ziemen, zukommen”; OE *ge-byrian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 62) “to happen, pertain to, belong to, befit”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-dagēn “schweigen, verstummen, aufhören zu sprechen” (Raven II 1967: 207). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-dancfazzōn “nachdenken, überlegen” (Raven II 1967: 24). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-dancōn “danken, ein freundliches Wort gönnen” (Raven II 1967: 25). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-þancian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 355) “to thank, give thanks to; to recompense, reward”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-danc-wercōn “Genüge leisten, befriedigen” (Raven II 1967: 25). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *danc* (Kluge 1989: 127) “Dank, Gunst, Gnade”; cf. OHG *wercōn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 717) “erbauen, wirken, handeln”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (formed with additional prefix *gi-*).

gi-darbēn “(+gen.) entbehren, nicht haben” (Raven II 1967: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-decken “bedecken, bekleiden” (Raven I 1963: 24). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-þeccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 356) “to cover”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-denken “beabsichtigen, gedenken” (Raven I 1963: 27). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-þencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 357) “to think, conceive, perceive, reflect upon, weigh; think about, remember, consider maturely, take to heart; think of, bear in mind; devise, invent”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-dennen “ausdehnen, ausstrecken, aufmerksam untersuchen oder erwägen” (Raven I 1963: 289). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-þennan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 357) “to stretch out, extend; prostrate; exert oneself; spread the fame of, magnify”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*, *ūz-*

gi-dewen, gi-douwen “verdauen” (Raven I 1963: 291). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-diggen “(er)flehen, beten, erbitten” (Raven I 1963: 290). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-dickēn “dicht werden, sich verdichten” (Raven II 1967: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-dillōn “mit zurückziehbaren Laufbrücken versehen, mit Laufbrettern belegen” (Raven II 1967: 25). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-dingen “verabreden, hoffen, erwarten, rufen, auffordern, zu etwas bringen, nach etwas streben” (Raven I 1963: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-dingōn “gerichtlich entscheiden, bestimmen, verabreden, versöhnen, versprechen” (Raven II 1967: 26). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-þingian* II (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 144) “to make terms with a person for oneself or another, to be reconciled, to come to an agreement, reconcile, settle a dispute, intercede, mediate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-diomuoten “demütigen” (Raven I 1963: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-dionōn “verdienen, durch Dienst erwerben” (Raven II 1967: 27). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-diuben “stehlen” (Raven I 1963: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-doubōn “zähmen, zwingen” (Raven II 1967: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-drāen “drehen” (Raven I 1963: 30). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-drewen, gi-drouwen “drohen” (Raven I 1963: 292). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-þrēgan, ge-þrēawian* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 362) “to rebuke, chastise, correct, punish; threaten, menace; attack, oppress, torture, afflict, vex, harass”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-drōzzēn “ausdehnen, hervorziehen oder schleppen, offenbaren” (Raven I 1963: 30). The following cognate verbs are attested: Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-drūhōn “Gefangener (Beinschellenträger) sein, mit Fuß- bzw. Beinschellen gefesselt” (Raven II 1967: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *drūh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 109) “Fußfessel, Schlinge, Falle”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-drucken “zusammendrücken” (Raven I 1963: 31). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-þryccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 364) “to press, impress, restrain, express”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-dūhen “gerinnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-þȳan, ge-þȳn, ge-þȳwan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “to press, impress; stab, pierce; crush, push, oppress, check; threaten”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *in-*

gi-dulten “gedulden, zulassen” (Raven I 1963: 33). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-dunken “dünken, vereinigen” (Raven I 1963: 33). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-pyncan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “to seem, appear”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-dunnen “abmagern, dünn machen, besänftigen” (Raven I 1963: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-dunnēn “dünn werden” (Raven II 1967: 210). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-pynnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 210) “to become thin”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-dunnirōn “verdünnen” (Raven II 1967: 29). No cognate verbs are attested. Nominal; OHG *dunnirō* comparative form of OHG adj. *dunni* (Starck and Wells 1990: 111) “dünn”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-duruhnohtīgōn “(den Verstand) vermehren oder ausbilden” (Raven II 1967: 30). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *duruhnohtīg*, *duruhnahtīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 112) “vollkommen, vollendet, vollständig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-duruhnohtōn “vervollkommen zur höchsten Vollendung oder zur Ausführung bringen” (Raven II 1967: 30). The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *duruhnoht*, *duruhnaht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 112) “vollkommen, vollendet, lauter”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-eban-mezzōn “gleichmachen, vergleichen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 412). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ebanōn “sich gleichstellen, gleichkommen, glattmachen, pflastern, vergleichen, miteinander (im Streit) messen, auf dem Wege folgen, zur Vollendung gelangen” (Raven II 1967: 31). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-efnian* II (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 388) “to make even, liken, compare”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-eggen “ebnen” (Raven I 1963: 292). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-ecgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 99) “to sharpen, harrow”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ēitīgōn “reich werden” (Raven II 1967: 31). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-eiden “beeiden, schwören, eidlich verpflichten, in Eid nehmen” (Raven I 1963: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. OE **ge-eidan* I attested in *ge-æþed* preterite participle (Lehmann 1989: 20) “sworn”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-eidōn “beeiden, eidlich verpflichten, in Eid nehmen, vereidigen, verbünden, schwören” (Raven II 1967: 32). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-eiginen “für sich nehmen” (Raven I 1963: 35). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-eiginōn “beanspruchen, sich zu eigen machen, für sich in Anspruch nehmen” (Pfeifer I 1989: 336). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-āgnian* II (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 363) “to own, possess, inherit, appropriate to oneself, claim for oneself”; Gothic *ga-aiginon* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 336) “in Beschlag nehmen, übervorteilen”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-eihhōn “übergeben, weihen, widmen, zueignen” (Raven II 1967: 32). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-einidōn “miteinander etwas abmachen, sich vereinigen” (Raven II 1967: 32). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ein* cardinal numeral adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 120) “ein”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with d-extension and prefix *gi-*).

gi-einigen “vereinigen, verbinden” (Raven I 1963: 35). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *einig*, *einag* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1973: 171). Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-einōn “sich vereinigen, eins mit sich werden, über etwas übereinkommen, sich von etwas befreien, beschließen” (Raven II 1967: 32). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-ānian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 22) “to unite”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-einsamōn “vereinigen” (Raven II 1967: 33). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-eiscōn “erforschen, erfragen, kennlernen, finden, zu wissen bekommen” (Raven II 1967: 24). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-āscian*, *ge-ācsian*, *ge-āxian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 25) “to ask, inquire, seek for, demand; call, summon; examine, observe”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ellentōn “in Gefangenschaft führen” (Raven II 1967: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-emizzigōn “aneinanderreihen, verketten” (Raven II 1967: 35). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-engen “zu nahe treten, beschwerlich fallen” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1974: 283). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE **ge-engan* I attested in *ge-enged* preterite participle (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1974: 283) “anxious”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-entōn “wegraffen, töten, beenden, sterben, entschaffen” (Raven II 1967: 35). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-endian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 105) “to end, finish; abolish, destroy”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-erben “als (von Gott) verheißenen, zgedachten Besitz bekommen, erben” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 352). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *ge-erven* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 352) “erben”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ēren “(ver)ehren, weihen” (Raven I 1963: 35). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ērēn “auszeichnen, durch äußere Zeichen Ehre erweisen, opfern, zu Ehren bringen” (Raven II 1967: 211). No cognate verbs are attested. OE *ge-ārian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 24) “to honour, respect; endow; regard, care for, favour, be merciful to, spare, pardon”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ergen “schlecht machen, verunstalten, verunzieren, entstellen” (Raven I 1963: 36). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-iergan*, *ge-yrgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 203) “to make cowardly, terrify, dishearten, dismay”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ērōn “ehren” (Raven II 1967: 36). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-ārian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 24) “to honour, respect; endow; regard, care for, favour, be merciful to, spare, pardon”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-fadamōn “als Kind annehmen” (Raven II 1967: 36). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fadimen “als Erben an Kindes Statt annehmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fugōn “Genüge tun” (Raven II 1967: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-falsken “widerlegen, als irrig zurückweisen, dämpfen, beschwichtigen, zum Schweigen bringen” (Raven I 1963: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-falscōn “fälschen, für falsch oder schlecht erklären” (Raven II 1967: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-farawen “färben” (Raven I 1963: 37). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zwiror-*

gi-fārēn “(+gen.) nachstellen, streben” (Raven II 1967: 212). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fascōn “mit Heilmitteln bestreichen, binden, mit einem Umschlag versehen, Pflaster auf Wunden legen” (Raven II 1967: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fastēn “fasten” (Raven II 1967: 212). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-fæstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 110) “to fasten, make firm; entrust, commit; fast, abstain from food”; Gothic *ga-fastan* III (Lehmann 1986: 109) “to keep”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-fazzōn “rüsten, satteln, umfassen” (Raven II 1967: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-fetian* II (Seebold 1970: 196) “to bring near, fetch, obtain; bring on; induce; marry”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*gi-fēien*² “färben, zeichnen, malen, absondern, scheiden” (Raven I 1963: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fehōn “essen, verzehren” (Raven II 1967: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-fehōn* II (Schade I 1884: 174). Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-feiziten “mästen, fett machen” (Raven I 1963: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-felgen “betasten, beflecken, ungebührlich betasten, entehren, schänden, anwenden, sich aneignen, erwähnen, vorziehen” (Raven I 1963: 36). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

gi-fellen “ärgen” (Raven I 1963: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-fellan*, *ge-fyllan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 726) “to cause to fall, fell, cut down, kill”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-fergōn “begehren, verlangen” (Raven II 1967: 40). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-festen “befestigen, bestätigen, versichern” (Raven I 1963: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-fæstan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 764) “to place”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-festinōn “festsetzen, befestigen, stärken” (Raven II 1967: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

gi-fieren “(sich) wenden, bei Seite wenden, weisen, bezwecken” (Raven I 1963: 39). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-*

gi-füllen “geißeln, prügeln” (Raven I 1963: 40). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*

gi-finsteren “verdunkeln” (Raven I 1963: 41). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-firmōn “firmeln, taufen” (Raven II 1967: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fīrōn “feiern” (Raven II 1967: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fiscōn “fischen” (Raven II 1967: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-flēhōn “angreifen, bekämpfen” (Raven II 1967: 45). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fleckōn “beschmutzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 164). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-flīden “beklemmen?, übel zurichten?” (Raven I 1963: 293). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-flōzzēn “flüssig machen, schmelzen, klären” (Raven I 1963: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fnotōn “zerschmettern” (Raven II 1967: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-folgēn “folgen, nachfolgen, nachgehen, geboren werden, erlangen, erreichen, einholen, anhängen, begleiten, das Geleit geben, Flöge leisten, worauf eingehen, gehorchen, gehorsam sein, mitleiden, zufrieden sein, gleichkommen, entstehen” (Raven II 1967: 215). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-fylgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 143) “to follow, pursue; persecute; follow out, observe, obey; obtain; attend to; practise”; OE *ge-folgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 124) “to follow, accompany; attain; obey, serve, observe”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-folliglīhhōn “vollständig oder vollkommen machen” (Raven II 1967: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **folliglīh* “völlig” which can be reconstructed from: OHG *folliglīhhōn* adv. (Starck and Wells 1990: 169) “völlig, reichlich, ausführlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-forahtan “sich fürchten” (Raven I 1963: 53). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-fyrhtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 145) “to fear, tremble; frighten, terrify”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-fora-redōn “aufsagen, vorausmelden lassen” (Raven II 1967: 118). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fordarōn “fördern, befördern, wieder einsetzen, empfehlen” (Raven II 1967: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-frāgēn “erfahren” (Raven II 1967: 216). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-frēhtīgōn “durch Wucher bereichern, als Lehen geben, schenken” (Raven II 1967: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *frēhtīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 177) “geweiht, heilig, würdig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-frēhtōn “verdienen, sich (eines Dinges) wert machen” (Raven II 1967: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *frēht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 177) “Verdienst, Tugend”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-freissamōn “in Gefahr sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fremiden “entfremden, abtrünnig machen, weggeben” (Raven I 1963: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fremmen “fordern, vollenden, vorwärts schaffen, vollführen, ausführen, leisten, vollbringen” (Raven I 1963: 294). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-fremmian* I (Schade I 1882: 322). Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*

gi-frewen, gi-frouwen “erfreuen” (Raven I 1963: 295). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fridōn “beschützen” (Raven II 1967: 49). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-friðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 140) “to make peace with, be at peace with; cherish, protect, guard, defend, keep; observe”; Gothic *ga-friþon* II (de Vries 1962: 142) “versöhnen”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-fristen “erhalten, verbreiten, bekanntmachen, verschieden sein” (Raven I 1963: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-friuntschaften “befreunden, vereinigen, verbünden” (Raven I 1963: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *friuntschaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 179) “Freundschaft, Liebe, Liebschaft, Verwandschaft”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-frōnen “veröffentlichen, öffentlich bekanntmachen” (Raven I 1963: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-frōniscōn “zieren, auszeichnen” (Raven II 1967: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *frōnisc* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 180) “fein, liebenswürdig, nett”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-frummen “ausführen, vollbringen, vollenden, verrichten, verüben, verursachen, vorwärts schaffen, machen, tun, drängen, schicken, weitermachen, an den Tag legen” (Raven I 1963: 296). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fruoen “früh kommen” (Raven I 1963: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fruo* (Kluge 1989: 234) “früh”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

**giften* “geben, schenken, verheiraten”. MHG *giften* (Lexer I 1872: 1013) “geben, schenken, verheiraten”. The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *gipta* I (de Vries 1962: 168) “verheiraten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **geftijanan* “geben, verheiraten”; cf. OE *giftian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 155) “to give a woman in marriage”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gift* (Kluge 1989: 267) “Gabe, Geschenk; Eingebung”; OFs. *geft(e)* (Kluge 1989: 267) “Gabe, Geschenk; Eingebung”; OE *gift* (Kluge 1989: 267) “gift, amount to be given by suitor in consideration of receiving a wife; marriage, nuptials”; ON *gift(a)*, *gipt* (Kluge 1989: 267) “Gabe, Glück, Vermählung”; Gothic *fra-gifts* (Lehmann 1986: 121) “gift, grant, betrothal, espousal”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **geftiz* fem. (Kluge 1989: 267) “Gabe, Brautpreis”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *gi-*

gi-fūhten “bewässern, benetzen” (Raven I 1963: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fullen “anfüllen, füllen, erfüllen” (Raven I 1963: 46). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-fyllan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 143) “to fill, fulfil, make a total, complete finish, accomplish, satisfy”; Gothic *ga-fulljan* I (Lehmann 1986: 131) “to fill up”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-fullimuntēn “gründen, befestigen, mit einem Boden versehen” (Raven I 1963: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *fullimunt* (Schade I 1882: 231) “Fundament” < MedLatin *fulmentum* (Schade I 1882: 231). <Latin *fudāmentum* (Schade I 1882: 231) “foundation, ground-work, basis”. Possible confusion with MedLatin *fulcimentum* (Schade I 1882: 231) “book-rest, prop”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-fundamentōn “gründen” (Raven II 1967: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-funden “nach etwas trachten” (Raven I 1963: 46). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-fuogen “fügen, vereinen, gesellen, zusammenfügend herstellen” (Raven I 1963: 47). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-fēgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 113) “to join, unite, compact, compose”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zīsamene-*, *zuo-*

gi-fuolen “fühlen, empfinden, wahrnehmen” (Raven I 1963: 48). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-fuolen* (Kluge 1989: 235) “fühlen”; OE *ge-fēlan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 113) “to feel, perceive”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-fuoren “zusammenbringen, hervorbringen, hinführen, antreiben, beschleunigen” (Raven I 1963: 50). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-fēran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 117) “to perform a journey, reach or get by going, obtain, accomplish, attain; fare, speed, undergo, experience, suffer, bring”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *fram-*

gi-furben “ausreinigen, büßen” (Raven I 1963: 52). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-furi-fangōn “zuvorkommen, sich übereilen lassen, [hingelangen]” (Raven II 1967: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-furi-hullōn “das Angesicht verhüllen, vorn bedecken oder verschleiern” (Raven II 1967: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. For simplex see OHG *hullen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 290) “zudecken, verhüllen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

gi-furirōn “voranstellen, hervorbringen” (Raven II 1967: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *furiro* comparative adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 186) “besser, mehr, vortrefflicher”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*):

gi-fūstōn “ohrfeigen, mit der Faust schlagen” (Raven II 1967: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-gāhen “eilen, eilig nach etwas trachten” (Raven I 1963: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-gāhōn “entgegeneilen” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-garawen “bereiten, erneuern” (Raven I 1963: 55). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-gearwian* II but probably from class I by levelling (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 150) “to prepare, make ready, provide with, endue”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-genzen “ganz machen, ergänzen; erhalten, erretten, behüten, beglücken” (Raven I 1963: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-gerōn “begehren, verlangen, Appetit haben” (Raven II 1967: 53). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-giften “vergiften, hinübergießen” (Raven I 1963: 57). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-gilitigōn “gichtbrüchig sein” (Raven II 1967: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ginnen “Kinder zeugen, erzeugen, gebären; genere” (Raven I 1963: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *genere* (present variants *gigno* and *geno*) (Lewis and Short 1966: 814) “to beget, bear, bring forth, produce”. The Latin reduplicated present variant *gigno* was probably confused with the OHG prefix *gi-*, hence the prefixed form of the verb. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

gi-goumen “laben, genießen, bekommen” (Raven I 1963: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-grabōn “verrammeln, Land bebauen oder bestellen” (Raven II 1967: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-grasagōn “grasartig den Boden bedecken, Gras säen” (Raven II 1967: 56). The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *grasag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 237) “grasig, grasreich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-gremmen “zur Rede stellen, zurechtweisen, auffordern, tadeln, reizen” (Raven 1963: 298). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-gremian* levelling to class II? umlaut points to an origin in class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “to enrage, provoke, irritate; revile”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-gripfen, gi-kripfen “zerreißen, zerstören, voneinanderreißen, verheeren, plündern” (Raven I 1963: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-grunden “glätten, ebnen, mäßigen” (Raven I 1963: 60). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-gryndan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 162) “to found (a house)”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-grunzen “grunzen über” (Raven I 1963: 61). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-gruozen “anreizen, aufreizen, aufstacheln, berühren, heftig erregen” (Raven I 1963: 61). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-grēan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “to approach, come to, address, greet, welcome”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-guollīhōn, gi-guotlīhōn “verherrlichen, ruhmreich machen” (Raven II 1967: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-guoten “sich bewähren” (Raven I 1963: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *guot* “gut, gerecht, heilig” (Starck and Wells 1990: 244). Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-haben “(be)halten, festhalten, verhöhnen, sich benehmen” (Raven I 1963: 303). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-habēn “an sich halten, festhalten, im Gedächtnis halten, Getrost sein, verständig halten, sich benehmen, Glück haben, zufrieden” (Raven II 1967: 222). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-habban* III (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 164) “to have, possess, own, hold; keep, retain; cherish, look after; esteem, consider”; Gothic *ge-habban* III (Lehmann 1986: 167) “to hold, maintain”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-haftēn “haften, kleben, gefangen sein, festsitzen, hängen bleiben” (Raven II 1967: 224). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-halōn “zusammenbringen, zurückbringen, versammeln, herbeirufen, habhaft werden, zu sich holen, bekommen, heiraten, geschlechtlich verkehren, beischlafen, gewinnen” (Raven II 1967: 61). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*

gi-hant-greifōn “sich an etwas vergreifen, schänden, mißhandeln, entweißen” (Raven II 1967: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *hant* (Kluge 1989: 290) “Hand”; cf. OHG *greifōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 238) “greifen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (formed with additional prefix *gi-*).

gi-hantgriffōn “sich an etwas vergreifen, schänden, mißhandeln, entweißen” (Raven II 1967: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hantgrif* (Schützeichel 1969: 77) “Handgriff”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-harmscarōn “verkrüppeln, die Lenden zerschlagen, die Gebeine (mit Schmerzen) durchbohren” (Raven II 1967: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-hartēn “ausharren, verharren” (Raven II 1967: 227). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-heardian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “to be or become hard”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-hasanōn “glatt schneiden, wegräumen” (Raven II 1967: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-hevīgōn “beschweren, (die Ferse gegen jemanden) erheben” (Raven II 1967: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hevīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 273) “gewichtig, schwer, ungeheuer”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-heften “besiegen, hemmen, geheften” (Raven I 1963: 65). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hæftan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 164) “to take, take captive, cast into prison, detain, bind”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *furi-*, *in-*, *zisamene-*, *zuo-*

gi-heien “wachsen, pflanzen, aufziehen, hegen, schützen, pflegen” (Raven I 1963: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-heilagōn “heiligen, eingeweiht werden, heilig werden, opfern, Nazarene” (Raven II 1967: 64). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hālgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 167) “to hallow, sanctify; consecrate, dedicate, ordain”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-heilen “gesund machen, heilen, retten, erlösen, heiligen” (Raven I 1963: 67). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hælan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 165) “to heal, make whole, cure, make safe, save”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-heizen “anzünden” (Raven I 1963: 70). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hætan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 166) “to heat”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-heizēn “aufbrennen, durch Feuer zerstören” (Raven II 1967: 228). OE *ge-hātan* II (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 399) “to be or become hot”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-hecken “zusammenschlagen, stechen, sehr zu leiden haben” (Raven I 1963: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-helden “neigen, beugen, zum Sinken oder zu Falle bringen; anlehnen, hinneigen” (Raven I 1963: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. OE *ge-hieldan*, *ge-hyldan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 181) “to bend, lean, incline, slope, heel, tilt”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-helwen “atmen, den Atem ziehen” (Raven I 1963: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology Unclear.

gi-helzen “lahm machen, lähmen” (Raven I 1963: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-hengen “zulassen, erlauben” (Raven I 1963: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *zuo-*

gi-hērēn “Herr sein über, herrschen, belohnen, vergüten” (Raven II 1967: 229). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-heribergōn “beherbergen, Unterkunft erweisen” (Raven II 1967: 65). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-heriōn, **gi-herrōn** “verwüsten oder (von der Pest) wüten” (Raven II 1967: 66). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hergian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 180) “to ravage, plunder, lay waste, harry; seize, take, capture”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-herten “hart machen, sich stärken, standhaft werden” (Raven I 1963: 70). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-herdian* I (de Vries 1662: 223) “stärken”; OE *ge-hierdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 182) “to harden, strengthen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-hērtuomen “vorstehen, den Vorsitz haben, verteidigen, decken, befehlen, beaufsichtigen, verwalten” (Raven I 1963: 70). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hērtuom* (Starck and Wells 1990: 272) “Obrigkeit, Würde, Hoheit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-hintaren “betrügen, hintergehen, etwas unterschlagen, berauben, herabstoßen, vertreiben, verdrängen” (Raven I 1963: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-hirmen “ruhen, ausruhen, sillstehen, verweilen, Frieden halten” (Raven I 1963: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-hirzen “übereinstimmen, sich vertragen; (Latin) concordäre” (Raven I 1963: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *herza* “Herz” (Starck and Wells 1990: 272). Probably a loan formation based on the Latin verb *concordäre*, the prefix *gi-* representing the Latin verbal and nominal prefix *con-*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-hīwen “heiraten, sich vermählen” (Raven I 1963: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

gi-hogēn “(+gen.) (jemandes, einer Sache) gedenken, sich erinnern (an)” (Schützeichel 1969: 85). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hogian* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 188)

“to care for, think about, reflect, busy oneself with, intend; strive, wish for”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-hōhen “erhöhen, befördern” (Raven I 1963: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. OE *ge-hēan* I, with loss of medial ‘h’ (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “to raise, exalt, extol”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*gi-holōn*¹ “(aus)höhlen, den Boden scharren, Brunnen senken, perforieren, kerben” (Raven II 1967: 67). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-holian* II (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 345) “to hollow out”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*gi-holōn*² “zusammenbringen, zurückbringen, versammeln, herbeirufen, habhaft werden, zu sich holen, bekommen, heiraten, geschlechtlich verkehren, beischlafen, gewinnen” (Raven II 1967: 61). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-holian* II (Kluge 1989: 314) “to obtain”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-honagōn “(mit Honig) bestreichen, d.h. angenehm und süß machen” (Raven II 1967: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *honag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 284) “Honig”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-hōnen “verschmähen, verhöhnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 284). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-hōnian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 284) “verschmähen, verhöhnen”; OE *ge-hienan*, *ge-hynan* I (Kluge 1989: 314) “to fell, prostrate; overcome; weaken, crush, afflict, injure, oppress; abase, humble, insult; accuse, condemn”; Gothic *ga-haunjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 179) “to abase”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-hōnōn, *gi-hōnōnti* “verhöhnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 285). cf. OHG *hōnen* I (Raven I 1963: 79). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

gi-hōren “hören, erhören, gehorchen” (Raven I 1963: 74). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hīeran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 182) “to hear, give ear to, obey”; Gothic *ga-hausjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 180) “to perceive”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-hōrsamōn “gehorsam sein” (Raven II 1967: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-houbitbantōn “mit Hauptband oder Kranz versehen, d.h. bekränzen” (Raven II 1967: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-houbit-sculdigōn “des Hochverrats beschuldigen” (Raven II 1967: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *houbit* (Kluge 1989: 297) “Haupt”; cf. OHG *sculdigēn* III (Starck and Wells 1990: 551) “schulden”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (formed with prefix *gi-* and with change of class III *sculdigēn* to class II, possibly by analogy with the large number of class II verbs prefixed with a substantive).

gi-houfōn “aufhäufen” (Raven II 1967: 68). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hēapian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “to heap up, collect, bring together, accumulate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-houwōn “zerschneiden” (Raven II 1967: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gihtigōn “gichtbrüchig sein” (Raven II 1967: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gihtig* (Schade I 1882: 324) “paralyticus, gichtbrüchig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *fir-*

gi-hūfōn “aufhäufen, ausschichten, scharweise zusammendrängen beziehungsweise -häufen, das volle Maß festdrücken, (ver)sammeln, vermehren” (Raven II 1967: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zisaмене-*

gi-huggen “(+gen.) sich erinnern (an), gedenken, beherzigen, eingedenk sein” (Raven I 1963: 306). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hycgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 200) “to think upon, consider, mediate, study; understand; resolve upon, determine, purpose; remember, hope”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-hugilīhhōn “erheitern, d.h. durch Ölsalbung das Antlitz erglänzen lassen” (Raven II 1967: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

gi-hulden “hold oder gewogen machen, geneigt machen” (Raven I 1963: 76). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-huldigen “beruhigen oder geneigt machen” (Raven I 1963: 76). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-hullen “fest umwinden, überziehen” (Raven I 1963: 77). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *ga-huljan* I (Lehmann 1986: 193) “to cover”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-hursken “beschleunigen, anspornen” (Raven I 1963: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-īlen “eilen, trachten nach” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-*, *furi-*, *hera-*

gi-impfen “einpflanzen” (Raven I 1963: 80). For simplex see OHG *impfōn*, *impitōn* II (Raven II 1967: 71) “bepflanzen, pfropfen”. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

gi-impitōn “ein-, bepflanzen, einstecken” (Raven II 1967: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-innōn “einen aufnehmen in” (Raven II 1967: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-int-frāgēn “fragen, erfragen” (Raven II 1967: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-inwerten “verinnerlichen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 307). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *inwert*, *inwertī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 307) “innerst, inner”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-inzihtigōn “beschuldigen” (Raven II 1967: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *inzihtig* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 307) “beschuldigend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-ir-ougen “nicht erscheinen, nicht sichtbar sein, verschwinden” (Raven I 1963: 145). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-irren “irreführen, verwirren, irremachen, betrüben, stark bewegen, erregen, verstümmeln, verschlimmern” (Raven I 1963: 81). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-īalen “vertilgen, ausstreichen, nichtig machen” (Raven I 1963: 82). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-itaniuwōn, *gi-itniuwōn* “erneuern, wiederherstellen, wiedergewinnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 314). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-ednīwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 99) “to renew, restore, reform”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-irrōn “irre gehen, sich verirren” (Raven II 1967: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-jāzen “bejahen, ja sagen, bewilligen, zustimmen, beipflichten, harmonisieren, einverstanden sein, sich einigen” (Raven I 1963: 83). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-jihten “beichten, zum Geständnis einer Sache bringen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 316). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-kalawen “die Kopfhaare abschneiden oder abrasieren, eine Glatze bekommen” (Raven I 1963: 84). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-kawarōn “kauen, verzehren” (Raven II 1967: 75). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **ga-kawarōjan* class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from strong verb **kewwanan* (Seebold 1970: 294) “kauen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *kiuwan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 294) “kauen”; OE *cēowan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 67) “to chew, gnaw; eat, consume”; ON *tyggva* st. vb with secondary initial ‘t’: (a) by analogy with *togla* (if the latter does not belong to this group); (b) by dissimilation? (Seebold 1970: 294) “kauen”. Compare ON *togla* II, formed with l-extension and dissimilation of ‘k’ (Seebold 1970: 295) “kauen”. This verb may, however, belong elsewhere. Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (with l-extension and prefix *gi-*).

gi-kennen “zeugen, erzeugen, gebären, wiedererkennen, prüfend untersuchen, geboren werden” (Raven I 1963: 86). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-cennan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 66) “to beget, bring forth, produce; clear, declare, prove”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-kēren “eine andere Richtung geben, wenden, beziehen auf, richten, zusammenkoppeln, verknüpfen, verbinden, (herum)drehen, (sich) neigen, hinneigen; ablenken” (Raven I 1963: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *nidar-*, *ūf-*, *widar-*

gi-kerien “kehren, fegen” (Raven I 1963: 308). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-kestigōn “kreuzigen” (Raven II 1967: 75). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-klagōn “beklagen, klagend aussprechen” (Raven II 1967: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-kleiben “einprägen, befestigen” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

gi-klenken “aneinanderreihen, -ketten, -heften, -knüpfen, verknüpfen, verbinden, zusammenflechten, gewunden” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-kniwen “knien, niederknien” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-knupfen “zusammenknüpfen, -fügen, verbinden, vereinigen, verflechten, anknüpfen, anbinden, verschlingen” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *zuo-*

gi-knussen “anschlagen, anstoßen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 339). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-cnyssan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 72) “to press, toss, strike, hew to pieces, dash, crash (together), beat; overcome, overwhelm, oppress”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

gi-korōn “erproben, sich erweisen, prüfen, kosten” (Raven II 1967: 79). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-koronōn “krönen, mit einem Lorberkranz als Preise schmücken” (Raven II 1967: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-kōsōn “abwägen, sprechen” (Raven II 1967: 81). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-koufen “kaufen, erkaufen, erhandeln, darreichen” (Raven I 1963: 96). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-kreftigōn “Großes tun” (Raven II 1967: 82). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kreftīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 345) “kräftig, rüstig, mächtig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-krumben “krümmen, gekrümmt, verdrehen, verwickelt, geschraubt” (Raven I 1963: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. OHG *krumb* (Starck and Wells 1990: 349) “gekrümmt, krumm, verdreht”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-krūzigōn “kreuzigen; crucifigere” (Raven II 1967: 83). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-kunden “ansagen, ankündigen, bestimmen, öffentlich bekanntmachen, -werden, kundtun, anzeigen, zumuten, melden, mit etwas drohen, bedeuten, offenbaren, zeigen, anspielen, andeuten, rapportieren, zurück berichten, auflösen, eine Frage deutlich erklären, schildern, vortragen, anführen, erwähnen, voraussetzen, vorschlagen” (Raven I 1963: 99). The following

cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-cyðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 81) “to make celebrated”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-kundōn “verkündigen” (Raven II 1967: 83). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-cūðian* II originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 76) “to become known, take knowledge of, regard”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-kunnēn “prüfen” (Raven II 1967: 232). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-cunnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: to search into, try, test, seek for, explore, investigate; experience; know”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-kuolen “abkühlen, kühlen, kühl machen” (Raven I 1963: 100). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-cēlan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 66) “to make cold, cool, allay”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-kurzen “kürzen, ver-, abkürzen, kurz fassen, zudrücken” (Raven I 1963: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-kussen “küssen” (Raven I 1963: 100). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-cyssan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 80) “to kiss”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-kwetten “benennen, gut, wohl, recht, regelrecht, vernünftig reden, loben” (Raven I 1963: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-kwicken “beleben, wiederherstellen, ergänzen, kräftigen” (Raven I 1963: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-labōn “sich erfrischen, sich stärken, essen, laben, die körperlichen Nahrungsbedürfnisse befriedigen” (Raven II 1967: 84). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-lavōn* II (Kluge 1989: 422) “waschen”; OE *ge-lafian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 210) “to pour water on, wash, bathe”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ladōn “be-, herbei-, zusammenrufen, einladen” (Raven II 1967: 85). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-laðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 212) “to invite, summon, call upon, ask”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-lāen “verraten” (Raven I 1963: 101). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-læwan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 210) “to betray”; Gothic *ga-lewjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 232) “to betray”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-(h)lahhēn “spielen, Kurzweil treiben” (Raven II 1967: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-lāgōn “umlagern, herumsitzen” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-langēn “(impers. +acc. pers. et gen. rei) dringend verlangen nach” (Raven II 1967: 233). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-langian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 211) “to send for, summon, call”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-langōn “auslangen, erreichen” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **ga-langōjan* (Seebold 1970: 331) class II deverbative from prefixed strong verb **ga-lengan(an)* (Seebold 1970: 331) “vorwärtskommen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *gi-lingan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 331) “gelingen, erreichen, glücken”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

gi-langsamōn “(die Zeit) verlängern, lange wohnen bleiben” (Raven II 1967: 86). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-lastarōn “schmähen, tadeln, einen Vorwurf machen” (Raven II 1967: 86). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-lebēn “(+acc.) leben, erleben, am Leben sein” (Raven II 1967: 234). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-lifian* III (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 410) “to live”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-leggen “legen, auf-, hin-, zurücklegen, brachliegen oder ruhen lassen” (Raven I 1963: 311). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-lecgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 214) “to lay, put, place, deposit, set, bury; cast down, lay low, kill”; Gothic *ga-lagian* I (Lehmann 1986: 233) “to lay, be laid”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *(suntar-)*.

gi-leckōn “lecken, kosten, trinken” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-leidigōn “verschlingen, die Fassung benehmen, d.h. jemandem das Herz brechen” (Raven II 1967: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-leihhen “gießen, fließen, ausströmen, loslassen, schleudern, hervorbringen, erzeugen, gebären, sich verbreiten, verschwenden” (Raven I 1963: 102). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-leisten “gewähren, beibringen, sich verpflichten, geloben, beschwichtigen, veranstalten, preisgeben, anvertrauen, bereiten, verursachen, erzeugen, , schaffen, machen, bewahren, aufrechterhalten, sich verbürgen, überreden, überzeugen, die Überzeugung beibringen, empfehlen” (Raven I 1963: 102). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-læstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 209) “to do, perform, accomplish, fulfil, discharge, execute, pay”; Gothic *ga-laistjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 226) “to follow”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-leiten “leiten, führen, mieten, eine Person dinge, zurückführen, zurückbringen, geleiten, fortschicken, führen, einführen” (Raven I 1963: 105). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-lēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 208) “to lead, bring, conduct; carry, bear”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-, fram-, in-, ūz-, zuo-*

gi-lengen “verlängern, dehnen, in die Länge ziehen, verbinden, zusammenfügen, fortsetzen” (Raven I 1963: 107). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-lengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 215) “to lengthen, extend, increase; prolong; protract, perform slowly, draw out”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*

gi-lepfen “austrinken, schöpfen, ausleeren, erstreben, ans Licht streben, etwas zu erreichen suchen, heben, zutreffen, genießen” (Raven I 1963: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-lēren “lehren, belehren, unterrichten, instruieren, genau unterweisen, mit Kenntnissen ausrüsten” (Raven I 1963: 109). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-lēran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 208) “to teach, train; persuade preach; convert”; Gothic *ga-laisjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 225) “to teach, instruct”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-lernēn “lernen” (Raven II 1967: 235). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-lesōn “zusammenfallen” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lesa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 370) “Falte”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-lezzēn “auf-, zurückhalten, hemmen, verletzen” (Raven I 1963: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-lettan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 217) “to let, hinder, delay, impede, oppress”; Gothic *ga-latjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 227) “to hinder”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-lībhaftōn “am Leben erhalten” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lībhaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 372) “lebendig, belebt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-lībhaftigōn “beleben” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-lidōn “schneiden, Vollendung” (Raven II 1967: 88). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-liðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 220) “to unloose, release”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-līhamhaftōn “den Körper veredeln? Körperlichkeit verleihen” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *līhamhaft* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 374) “körperlich” or OHG *līhamhaftī* subst. (Starck

and Wells 1990: 374) “Körperlichkeit”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival/denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-līhamōn “Körperlichkeit verleihen, mit menschlicher Form und Natur versehen” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *līhamo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 374) “Körper, Leib, Fleisch”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gilīthen “gleichen, ähneln, ähnlich sein” (Raven I 1963: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *gelīcan* I (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 409) “to liken, imitate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **galeikijan* “gleichen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *gilīhēn*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

gilīhēn “(impers. +dat.) gefallen” (Raven II 1967: 236). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *gelīcian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 218) “(+dat. or impers.) to please; be sufficient; to be like, seem like”; ON *glíkja* (Zoëga 1910: 167, 274) “to make like”; Gothic *galeikan* III (Lehmann 1986: 231) “to please”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **galeikējanan* “to be similar, alike; to be suitable; to be pleasing, to like”. The precise details of this verb's derivation are obscured by the semantic complexity of its derivational base. It appears that the verb is deadjectival from a Gmc prefixed adjective **ga-leikaz* (Kluge 1989: 268) which had an original meaning of “having the same form, alike”. This meaning then became extended to “suitable, pleasing”. The adjective is attested in the following: OHG *gilīh* (Kluge 1989: 268) “gleich”; OS *gilīk(o)* (Kluge 1989: 268) “gleich”; OFs. *līk* (Kluge 1989: 268) “gleich” (probably a reduced form of the prefixed form); OE *gelīc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 217) “like, alike, similar, equal; suitable”; ON *līkr* (de Vries 1962: 356) “gleich, wahrscheinlich, gut” (probably a reduced form of the prefixed form); Gothic *galeiks* (Lehmann 1986: 231) “alike, similar”. The adjective itself is most likely derived from the Gmc neuter substantive **līkan* (Kluge 1989: 435) “Körper, Fleisch”, which is attested in the following: OHG *lī(c)h* (Kluge 1989: 435) “Körper, Leichnam”; OS *līk* (Kluge 1989: 435) “Körper, Leichnam”; ON *līk* (Kluge 1989: 435) “Körper, Leichnam”; OE *līc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 217) “body, corpse”; Gothic *leik* (Kluge 1989: 435) “body, flesh, corpse”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb. Alternatively, this verb may, however, be a straightforward prefix formation from the simplex *līhēn* (which see).

gilīhinōn “wetteifern” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gilīh* (Kluge 1989: 268) “gleich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with n-extension).

gilīhisōn “vergleichen, sich verstellen, sich die Augen schminken” (Raven II 1967: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gilīh* (Kluge 1989: 268) “gleich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension). Alternatively, this verb may be a prefix formation from the simplex verb.

gi-līhten “erleichtern” (Raven I 1963: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-līhtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 219) “to lighten, mitigate, assuage”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-līmen “leimen, zusammenleimen” (Raven I 1963: 111). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-līman* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 219) “to join together, cement together”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zīsamene-*, *zuo-*

gi-lindizzen “freundlich zureden, beschwichtigen” (Raven I 1963: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I intensive deverbative from OHG class I weak verb *linden* (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-(h)linēn “sich hinlegen, d.h. seinen Platz am Tische einnehmen, sich an etwas lehnen” (Raven II 1967: 237). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hlinian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 186) “to lean, recline, lie down, rest”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-lioblīhhōn, *gi-liublīhhōn* “anmutig, schön oder angenehm sein oder machen?” (Raven II 1967: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lioblīh*, *liublīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 378) “schön, lieblich, anmutig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-listen “beschwichtigen, mit heimlicher List oder unvermerkt wegnehmen, entwenden” (Raven I 1963: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-liuben “angenehm machen, lieben, loben, liebhaben, versüßen, ergötzen, vergnügen, sich beliebt machen oder sein, streben, zu gewinnen suchen, Freude empfinden” (Raven I 1963: 111). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-līefan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 218) “to be dear to”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-liuhten “erleuchten, erhellen” (Raven I 1963: 112). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-līhtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 219) “to make light, to give light to; to be or become light, to shine”; Gothic *ga-liuhtjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 236) “to make known”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-liūaren “läutern, rein machen, büßen, offenbaren, erklären, klar machen, zurechtlegen, durchseihen” (Raven I 1963: 113). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hlūttrian* II originally I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 187) “to purify, make clear”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-(h)liuten “ertönen, ausrufen, bekannt werden” (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-liutmaren “veröffentlichen” (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-lobōn “jemandem den Willen tun, geloben, genügtun” (Raven II 1967: 91). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *lofian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 221) “to appraise, value”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*gi-lockōn*² “schmeicheln, mildern, ergötzen, verstricken, verführen” (Raven II 1967: 92). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-loccian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 221) “to attract, entice, soothe”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gilōn “bellen” (Raven II 1967: 54). cf. OHG *gelzōn* II. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **gelōjan* “bellen”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. It is possibly a class II deverbative (with shortened medial 'l') from the strong verb **gellanan* (Seebold 1970: 222) “gellen” (see under *gelzōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

gi-lōnōn “(be)lohnēn” (Raven II 1967: 92). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-lēanian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 213) “to reward, recompense, repay, requite”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-lōsen “merken, Nutzen ziehen, Aufmerksamkeit auf etwas richten, beachten, achtgeben” (Raven I 1963: 116). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-līsan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 218) “to loosen, relax; crush; redeem, release”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

gi-(h)losēn “merken, Nutzen ziehen, Aufmerksamkeit auf etwas richten, beachten, achtgeben” (Raven II 1967: 239). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-louben “glauben, zustimmen, trauen, preisgeben, gutheißen, gelten lassen, sich entziehen, sich entäußern, abentmutigt werden (= verzweifeln), nachgeben” (Raven I 1963: 117). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-lōbian* I (Kluge 1989: 268). OE *ge-līefan*, *ge-līfan*, *ge-lýfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 218) “to believe, confide, trust, hope”; Gothic *ga-laubjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 141) “to believe; permit”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **ga-laubjanan* “to believe, confide in; (originally) to accept or assume a religious faith”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-lougenen “verleugnen, verneinen, ablehnen, widersprechen, Widerspruch erheben, abwaschen oder abspülen (übtr. =) vom Tolgen moral. Flecken = reinigend abspülen” (Raven I 1963: 120). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *ga-laugnjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 228) “to be hidden”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-lubbōn “vergiften” (Raven II 1967: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-(h)luoen “(von Hunden) nicht mucksen oder leise reden, die Zunge bewegen” (Raven I 1963: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-lusten “gelüsten” (Raven I 1963: 121). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-lystan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 223) “to please, cause a desire for”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-magaren “aufzehren, verzehren, hinschwinden, schwächen, kasteien, dünn oder schwach machen” (Raven I 1963: 122). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-magēn “stärker werden, sich stärker fühlen, mächtiger werden, die Oberhand gewinnen, siegen, an Macht überwiegen, sich sehr kräftig fühlen” (Raven II 1967: 241). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-mahalen “sprechen, (durch einen Vertrag) sich eine Frau zur Braut oder Ehefrau nehmen bzw. erkaufen, verloben” (Pfeifer I 1989: 532). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-mahlian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 394) “verloben”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-mahalōn “sprechen” (Raven II 1967: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-mahhōn “machen, bereiten, bewerkstelligen, (sich) anpassen, passend machen, auftragen, (passive) mit jemandem verkehren, sich zugesellen, sich (dem Kloster) eingliedern,, vollbringen, Ehebruch treiben, Feuer anstecken, schweigen” (Raven II 1967: 96). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-macian* II (Kluge 1989: 453) “to make, form, construct, do; prepare, arrange, cause”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *zisamene-*, *zuo-*

gi-mahtigōn “stark machen” (Raven II 1967: 98). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mahtīg*, *mahtig* (Starck and Wells 1990: 396) “mächtig, kräftig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-mālēn “anstreichen, anfertigen” (Raven II 1967: 242). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-mammunten “besänftigen, beruhigen, beschwichtigen, lindern, mildern, erweichen, schwächen, versöhnen” (Raven I 1963: 123). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-managfaltōn “vermehrten, (übtr.) segnen” (Raven II 1967: 98). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-manigfealdian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 229) “to multiply, abound, increase, extend”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-manōn “mahnen, schelten, jemandem an etwas erinnern, zur Erinnerung bringen” (Raven II 1967: 99). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-manian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 229) “to remind, admonish, warn, exhort, instigate; instruct, advise”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-māren “bekannt machen, verbreiten, veröffentlichen, allen preisgeben, ruchbar machen, ausschreien, fortpflanzen, zutage fördern, anführen, ausdehnen, erweitern” (Raven I 1963: 124). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-māran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 226) “to celebrate, divulge, spread abroad”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*

gi-marcōn “bescheiden, zuweisen, anstellen, verordnen” (Raven II 1967: 100). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-mearcian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 231) “to mark, stain, brand, seal; mark a boundary, measure, define, describe, designate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*

gi-meinen “erklären, bestimmen, teilen, zuteilen, vorausbestimmen, mitteilen, beurteilen, messen, zeigen, verurteilen, verdammen, mißbilligen” (Raven I 1963: 126). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-mēnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 226) “to mean, signify; communicate, announce, pronounce, utter, to give expression to one's feelings, as, of pain, to moan, groan”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

gi-meinsamōn “mitteilen, teilnehmen lassen, Anteil bekommen” (Raven II 1967: 101). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **meinsam* “gemeinschaftlich, öffentlich”; cf. OHG *gi-meini* (Kluge 1989: 256) “gemeinschaftlich, öffentlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-meitisōn “übermütig, üppig werden, ausschweifen, (in der Zahl) zunehmen oder sich steigern, d.h. genug sein” (Raven II 1967: 101). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-meitōn “zweimal färben” (Raven II 1967: 101). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *meito* (Starck and Wells 1990: 406) “Färber”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-meldēn “verleumderisch angeben, berichten, bekanntmachen, mitteilen, offenbaren, ans Licht bringen, zeigen” (Raven II 1967: 243). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-mengen¹ “fehlen, mangeln” (Raven I 1963: 127). The following cognate verbs are attested: None.

Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-mengen² “(ver)mischen” (Raven I 1963: 127). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-mengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 233) “to mingle, conmingle, mix, blend, confuse, unite, join, combine”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-mennen “vor Gericht laden” (Raven I 1963: 313). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-merken “aufzeichnen, vorzeichnen” (Raven I 1963: 127). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-mearcian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 231) “to mark, point out, describe, assign, appoint, determine”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-mērōn “aufbauen, wiederaufbauen, in Wohlstand versetzen, gewinnen, verherrlichen, Ruhm bekommen, erschaffen, ins Dasein rufen” (Raven II 1967: 102). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-mārian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 230) “to increase”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-merren “stören, schändigen, hindern, verhindern, fesseln, abhalten, fangen, verstricken, verwickeln” (Raven I 1963: 128). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-mierran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 237) “to hinder, obstruct, force, trouble”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-mesten “fett machen” (Raven I 1963: 129). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-mæstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 227) “to fatten”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-metamēn “das rechte Maß verleihen, mäßigen, regeln, lenken, ordnen” (Raven II 1967: 245). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-mezzōn “steinhauen, Steine behauen, abschneiden, abglätten” (Raven II 1967: 102). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-mieten “(ver)mieten, verpachten, lohnen, in Sold nehmen, dingen, sich verdingen, in Verding geben, kaufen, verhandeln, schwächen, anwerben, erkaufen, feilschen, wert geachtet sein, übereinkommen, vergleichen, verschulden, bestechen” (Raven I 1963: 129). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *in-*

gi-mihhillihōn “verherrlichen” (Raven II 1967: 103). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-minnōn “lieben” (Raven II 1967: 104). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-minnirōn “geringfügig machen, zerreiben, in Stücken brechen, zerbrechen, ein Ende machen, austilgen, vernichten, verwüsten, vergeuden” (Raven II 1967: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-miskelōn “mischen, zusammensetzen” (Raven II 1967: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-misken “mischen, mengen, verwirren, mischend trüben, sich paaren oder begatten, mit einer Frau schlafen oder ihr Gewalt antun” (Raven I 1963: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-missil̥hhōn “die Wachen wechseln, verändern” (Raven II 1967: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-mittiferahen “die Lebensmitte erreichen” (Raven I 1963: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gimunden “sich erinnern, einer Sache gedenken, noch nicht vergessen haben” (Raven I 1963: 132). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gimunt* (Schützeichel 1969: 131) “Gedenken”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

gimuntigōn “(+gen.) gedenken” (Raven II 1967: 54). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *myndigian* II back formation with loss of prefix *ge-* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 243) “to remember, be mindful of; remind; intend; commemorate, mention; exhort, impel, warn”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **gamundagōjan* “to be mindful of”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OE *gemyndig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 243) “mindful, recollecting; memorable; thoughtful, wise”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **gamundagaz* “mindful”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

gi-muntōn “beschirmen” (Raven II 1967: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-mundian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 242) “to protect, watch over, act as guardian of”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-muodēn “ermatten, erschöpft werden” (Raven II 1967: 244). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-muoen “reizen, erregen, beunruhigen, necken, belästigen, herausfordern, müde oder matt machen, ermüden” (Raven I 1963: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-muosēn “(an)ködern, (nur übr. =) verführerisch anlocken” (Raven I 1963: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-muozigen “sich Musse nehmen (+gen.)” (Raven I 1963: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *muozīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 426) “müßig, unbeschäftigt, untätig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-muozzōn “freie Zeit oder Muße haben” (Raven II 1967: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-muruwen “zermürben, zustande bringen (hier) = ein Jammergeschrei erheben” (Raven I 1963: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *murui* (Starck and Wells 1990: 427) “zart, weich, mürbe”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-muzōn “die Farbe des Antlitzes ändern, finster den Blick zu Boden richten” (Raven II 1967: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

g(i)nādēn “(+gen. et dat.) gnädig, wohlwollend oder freundlich sein, Gnade oder Gunst erweisen, einem seinen Dank wofür bezeigen, ein freundliches Wort gönnen, sich erbarmen, (vom Herzen) sich erweichen oder weicher werden” (Raven II 1967: 218). No cognate verbs are

attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *g(i)nāda* (Starck and Wells 1990: 214) “Gnade, Barmherzigkeit, Versöhnung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ginādigōn “gnädig sein” (Raven II 1967: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ginādig* (Starck and Wells 1990: 214) “barmherzig, mild, geneigt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

ginādōn “(+dat. pers. et gen. rei) gnädig sein, sich erbarmen, helfen” (Raven II 1967: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *ginādēn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

gi-nāen “zusammennähen, mucken, mucksen, den Mund auf tun, sagen, reden” (Raven I 1963: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-nah (attested only in prefixed form) “genügen” (Seebold 1970: 355). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-neah* preterite-present (Seebold 1970: 355) “to be enough, sufficient, to suffice”; Gothic *ga-nah* preterite-present (Seebold 1970: 355) “genügen”. These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **ga-nah* (Seebold 1970: 342) “genügt”. This verb can be traced back to an IE $\sqrt{*enk-}$, **nek-*, **enk-*, **nk-* (Pokorny I 1956: 316) “reichen, erreichen, erlangen; tragen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *asnoti* (Seebold 1970: 356) “gelangt, erreicht”; Greek *ἐνεγκεῖν* aorist 2nd infinitive (Seebold 1970: 356) “herbeischaffen, davontragen”; Latin *nancisci*, *nactus sum* (Seebold 1970: 355) “erreichen, erhalten”; OIr. *ri-icc* (Seebold 1970: 355) “erreicht, kommt an, kommt zu”; Welsh *dianc* (Seebold 1970: 355) “entfliehen, meiden”; OCS *neso*, *nesti* (Seebold 1970: 356) “tragen”; Lith. *nešù*, *néšti* (Seebold 1970: 355) “tragen, bringen, reichen bis”; Toch.A *ents* sk-present (Seebold 1970: 356) “ergreifen”; Toch.B *enk* sk-present (Seebold 1970: 356) “ergreifen”; Hittite *ninink* nin-infix (Seebold 1970: 356) “heben, aufheben, auflauern”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present, formed with prefix *ga-*).

gi-nāhen “näher-, herankommen, nahen, sich nähern” (Raven I 1963: 135). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-nackotōn “entblößen” (Raven II 1967: 108). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-nacodian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 244) “to lay bare, strip”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-(h)neigen “(sich) neigen, senken, abwärts ziehen oder führen” (Raven I 1963: 136). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hnægan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 187) “to bend down, humble, cast down, subdue”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

gi-nemnen “sagen, (an)rufen, (be-), (er-)nennen, aussprechen, bezeichnen als” (Raven I 1963: 138). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-nemnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 248) “to name, call”; Gothic *ga-namnjān* I (Lehmann 1986: 262) “to name”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-nenden “sich erkühnen, wagen, nach etwas trachten, etwas erstreben” (Raven I 1963: 139). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-nēðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 249) “to venture, attempt, strive”; Gothic *ga-nanþjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 31) “to stop”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ginēn “gaffen, gähnen, klaffen, den Mund, den Schnabel oder das Maul aufsperrn, gierig trachten nach, schnappen nach, (von Hunden) die Zähne fletschen, niesen, einen Laut von sich geben, reden oder erwidern” (Raven II 1967: 218). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **ginējan* (Seebold 1970: 219) “to be gaping”, zero-grade class III

durative deverbative from strong verb **geinanan* (Seebold 1970: 219) “gähnen, klaffen” (see under *geinōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *gagan-*

gi-nerien “heilen, (er)retten, ernähren, gesund machen, sich eines Menschen annehmen, aufrichten (= aufstehen lassen), (mit leichter Hand) lenken” (Raven I 1963: 315). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-nerian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 248) “to save, rescue, liberate, preserve, defend, protect”; Gothic *ga-nasjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 263) “to heal, save”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-nezzen “befeuchten, benetzen, bespritzen, besprengen, (ein)tauchen, tränken, ausgießen, überfluten, überspülen” (Raven I 1963: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gingēn “(+gen.) nachjagen, nachfolgen, nachahmen, nach etwas verlangen, sehnd, sehnsüchtig” (Raven II 1967: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gingo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 215) “Absicht, Verlangen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

gi-nidaren “erniedrigen, entmutigen, vertreiben, verdrängen, vereiteln, stören, entkräften, zu Boden werfen, vernichten, ins Verderben stürzen, töten, erlegen, verurteilen, aufheben, schwächen, zerrütten, erschöpfen, zertreten, aufreiben, geringschätzig behandeln, demütigen, verschmähen, einäschern oder durch Glut quälen” (Raven I 1963: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-(h)nicken “zerstören, vertilgen, verwerfen, jemandem etwas antun, an-, vergreifen, vertreiben, hart bedrücken, verstricken = zum Treubruch verführen” (Raven I 1963: 141). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-niotōn “(+reflex. et gen.) erfüllen mit, sättigen, rächen” (Raven II 1967: 109). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-niudōn*, *gi-niodōn* II (Schade I 1882: 652) “sich an etwas erfreuen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-niuwōn “erneuern, wiederherstellen, ruhig gewähren lassen” (Raven II 1967: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-nīwian* II (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 422) “to renew, restore”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-nōtagōn “entjungfern” (Raven II 1967: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-nōten “zwingen, nötigen (= pressen), beseitigen, treiben, jagen” (Raven I 1963: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-nōmezzōn “genau abgrenzen, die Grenzen genau bestimmen” (Raven II 1967: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-nōzogōn “entjungfern” (Raven II 1967: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ginōzōn “gleichstellen” (Raven II 1967: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ginōz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 215) “Genosse, Kamerad”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ginōzsamōn “sich angesellen” (Raven II 1967: 54). The following cognate verbs are attested: OHG *ginōzsamī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 215) “Gemeinschaft, Verbindung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ginōzscaffen “vereinigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 216). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *ginōzscaffōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ginōzscaffōn “vereinigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 216). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ginōzscaf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 215) “Kameradschaft, Verbindung, Gemeinschaft”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ginuhten “übereich sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 216). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ginuht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 216) “Genüge, Fülle, volles Maß, Übermaß”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ginuhtsamōn “in hinreichender Fülle vorhanden sein” (Raven II 1967: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ginuhtsam* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 216) “übereich, reichlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ubar-*

gi-(h)nuoen “hobeln, glätten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 446). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ginuogen “reichlich vorhanden sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 216). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *(g)noegja* I (de Vries 1962: 181) “genug oder reichlich geben”; Gothic *ganohjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 70) “to be content”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **ganōgijanan* “to be enough”; cf. OE *genōgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 251) “to be abundant”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ginuog*, *ginuogi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 216) “hinreichend, genügend, reich”; OS *ginōg(i)* (Kluge 1989: 258) “genug”; OFs. *(e)nōch* (Kluge 1989: 258) “genug”; OE *genōg*, *genōh* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 251) “enough, sufficient, abundant”; ON *gnógr* (Kluge 1989: 258) “genug”; Gothic *ganohs* (Kluge 1989: 258) “enough”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **ganōgaz* (Kluge 1989: 258) “genug”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-zuo-*

gi-nusken “schnallen, verknüpfen, zusammenhalten, einwickeln” (Raven I 1963: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nusca* (Starck and Wells 1990: 446) “Spange, Schnalle”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-nuzzen “benützen, Genüge leisten = (be)zahlen” (Raven I 1963: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-obarōn “zögern, überwinden, besiegen, vertilgen” (Raven II 1967: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ōdmuoten “erniedrigen, demütigen” (Raven I 1963: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-odmuotīgōn “sich erniedrigen, d.h. sich demütig unter andere stellen” (Raven II 1967: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-offanōn “öffnen, offenbar, verständlich oder deutlich machen, (reflex. +gen.) sich hinsichtlich etwas merken lassen” (Raven II 1967: 112). The following cognate verbs are

attested: OE *ge-openian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 268) “to open (up), disclose, declare, reveal, expound”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ātagōn “reich machen oder sein, mit etwas behaftet oder begabt sein, bereichern” (Raven II 1967: 113). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ēadigian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 92) “to count fortunate, call blessed; enrich, make happy”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ougazorahtōn “offenbaren” (Raven II 1967: 113). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ougen “(sich) zeigen, erzeugen, erscheinen, vorstellen, schildern, darstellen, vor Augen bringen, genau bestimmen, definieren, erklären” (Raven I 1963: 145). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-īewan*, *ge-ȳwan*, *ge-eowan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 203) “to show, manifest, reveal”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-pflanzōn, *gi-flanzōn* “vermehrten, durch Samen vervielfältigen” (Raven II 1967: 44). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-plantian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 273) “to plant”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-pflastarōn, *gi-flastarōn* “pflastern, mit Heilmitteln bestreichen, binden, Pflaster auf Wunden legen” (Raven II 1967: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *pflastar* (Kluge 1989: 540) “Heilpflaster, Mörtel, Estrich” <Latin *emplastrum* (Kluge 1989: 540) “Wundpflaster”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-pressōn “pressen, auspressen, ausdrücken, bedrängen” (Raven II 1967: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-proventōn “einem Lebensunterhalt geben” (Raven II 1967: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-prugilōn “durch überlegte Stöcke und Reißig schützen oder verbergen, (Vom Feuer) sicher untergehen” (Raven II 1967: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rapfen “sich sammeln (= Gerinnen des Blutes zu einer Verharschung)” (Raven I 1963: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rahhōn “erzählen, sagen” (Raven II 1967: 115). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rāsen “toben, rasen” (Raven I 1963: 147). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-rāsan* I (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 429) “to rush”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-rāwēn “ruhen, verweilen” (Raven II 1967: 474). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

girdinōn “begehren” (Raven II 1967: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *girida* (Starck and Wells 1990: 218) “Ehrgeiz, Begierde”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with n-extension).

gi-redinōn “darlegen, (be)sprechen, (aus)sagen, erzählen, reden, vortragen, einen Wortwechsel führen” (Raven II 1967: 118). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-redōn “sagen, mündlich darstellen, sprechen, eine Anklage erheben, durch Worte erklären” (Raven II 1967: 118). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-refsen “tadeln, mißbilligen, zurechtweisen” (Raven I 1963: 148). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-reganen “regnen” (Schützeichel 1989: 209). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rehhanōn “einrichten, ordnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 477). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-recenian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 279) “to explain, recount, relate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-rehthafīgōn “rechtfertigen, in Schutz nehmen” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **rehthafīg* “gerechtfertigt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-rehthafītōn “gerecht sein, rechtfertigen” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rehthaf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 477) “gerechtfertigt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-rehtsamōn “gerecht gesprochen werden” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **rehtsam*, unattested but cf. OHG *reht* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 477) “recht, gerade, richtig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-reihhen “sich erstrecken, reichen” (Raven I 1963: 149). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-rēcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 276) “to reach, obtain, seize, get, lay hold on, attain, reproach, present, offer”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *hina-īf-*, *zuo-*

gi-reihhōn “erlangen, erreichen” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

gi-(h)reinen “reinigen, völlig reinigen, säubern, rein machen oder waschen, entschuldigen” (Raven I 1963: 149). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *ga-hrainjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 190) “to cleanse”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-(h)reinōn “reinigen” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

**gi-reiten* “bereiten”. MHG *ge-reiten* (Kluge 1989: 75) “bereiten, anordnen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu *ge-reiden*, *ge-re(e)den* (Kluge 1989: 75). OE *ge-rædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 276) “to arrange, direct, resolve, determine, decide; put in order”; ON *greiða* I (Kluge 1989: 75) “ordnen; bereiten; einrichten, helfen”; Gothic *ga-raidjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 280) “to arrange, decree, order”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-recken “erzählen, redend einführen, erklären, deuten, schätzen, schildern, ausdrücken, verdeutlichen, erörtern, mitteilen, interpretieren, in der Rede auf etwas zurückkommen, erreichen, bewegen, verursachen, erlangen, verhandeln” (Raven I 1963: 152). The following cognate verbs

are attested: OE *ge-reccan* (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 430) “to put forth, show, relate, express, denote, explain; interpret, translate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

giren “etwas begehren” (Schützeichel 1969: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *giri* (Schützeichel 1969: 69) “gierig, habgierig, begehrllich; begierig, geizig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

gi-rennen “ein-, um-, zusammenschmelzen, umschmieden, bewerkstelligen, bewirken, verursachen, frischen, gerinnen, zusammendrängen, (von Bergen = gipfelreich)” (Raven I 1963: 152). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-ærnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 10) “to run, run for, reach by running; ride”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zi-*, *zisamene-*

gi-rerten “zurechtlegen, harmonisch abmessen oder einstellen” (Raven I 1963: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-resken “spitzen, schärfen, reizen, betonen, steigern” (Raven I 1963: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-resten “ruhen, aufleben, brachliegen, sich Luft schaffen” (Raven I 1963: 154). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-restan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 280) “to rest, remain; give rest to, lodge”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

girezzan “eifrig wünschen, begehren, verlagnen, beanspruchen” (Raven I 1963: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. We can tentatively reconstruct an earlier form **geratjan* “begehren”, intensive deverbative from OHG weak verb *giren* “begehren” (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

gi-ridilōn “das Haupthaar ordnen” (Raven II 1967: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rīfēn “reifen, reif werden, das goldene Getreide” (Raven II 1967: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rigilōn “sich zur Ruhe legen, hegen oder sorgen für, erfrischen” (Raven II 1967: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rīhhen “überwinden, besiegen, bekommen, bewahren, einnehmen, sich bemächtigen” (Raven I 1963: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rihten “richten, berichten, ordnen, unterweisen, aufbauen, verteilen, segnen, gerade machen oder zurückbiegen” (Raven I 1963: 156). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-rihten* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 281) “to set right or straight; to direct, correct”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *īf-*

gi-(h)ringen¹ “umringen, Ringe machen oder kreisförmig ausführen, zusammenknüpfen oder -halten” (Raven I 1963: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ringen² “lindern, erleichtern” (Raven I 1963: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ringi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 486) “leicht”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-ringōn “mit Ring- oder Schuppenpanzer versehen” (Raven II 1967: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-risirōn “abfallen, zu fehlen beginnen, versagen” (Raven II 1967: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **risirōjan* zero-grade class II frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with r-extension) from strong verb **reisanan* (Seebold 1970: 371) “aufgehen, untergehen” (see under *reisōn*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with prefix *gi-* and r-extension).

gi-rizzen “streifen, oberflächlich oder leicht berühren = leicht verwunden, mit finsterem Blick streifen” (Raven I 1963: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rōsten “rösten, braten” (Raven I 1963: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rōten “röten, rot färben” (Raven I 1963: 159). cf. OHG *rōtēn* III (Raven II 1967: 248). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rōt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 49) “rot, scharlachrot, braunrot”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-rouhhen “mit günstigen Vorzeichen opfern, mit Erfolg opfern, sühnen” (Raven I 1963: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-roupen “rösten, braten” (Raven I 1963: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rūhen “völlig rauh oder roh machen, aufwühlen, verwildern lassen, aufreizen, aufhetzen” (Raven I 1963: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rucken “sich entfernen oder nähern, steigen, fortschreiten, vorwärtsgehen” (Raven I 1963: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-rūmen “frei oder leer machen, räumen” (Raven I 1963: 162). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-rȳman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 285) “to extend, enlarge, make room, manifest, expand”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-runnen “zusammenlaufen, gerinnen” (Raven I 1963: 162). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *run* (Starck and Wells 1990: 496) “Lauf, Bahn”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-ruobōn “aufzählen, angeben, berechnen” (Raven II 1967: 123). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-(h)ruofen “rufen, anrufen, hochachten, Ehrfurcht empfinden, laut schreien, dringend fordern, eine Einrede vorbringen, anklagen, erlehen, ausrufen” (Raven I 1963: 163). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ruogen “(reflex.) sich anklagen oder tadeln” (Raven I 1963: 164). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wrēgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 422) “to accuse”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-(h)ruomen “sich rühmen” (Raven I 1963: 165). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hrīeman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 193) “to cry, implore”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-(h)ruoren “berühren, betreffen, ergreifen, Schaden zufügen oder schädigen” (Raven I 1963: 166). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hrēan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 193) “to move”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-rūspen “sich sträuben” (Raven I 1963: 166). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

gi-(h)rusten “sich fertig machen, ordnen, ausrüsten, die Waffen umgürten, waffengeübt sein, erlangen” (Raven I 1963: 166). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hyrstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 202) “to adorn, ornament, decorate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-sāen “säen = Furchen mit Gerste bestellen” (Raven I 1963: 167). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sagen “sagen, nennen, erzählen, preisen, beordern, segnen, vorschreiben” (Raven I 1963: 318). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sagēn “beordern, erzählen, nennen, jemandem Recht schaffen, urteilen” (Raven II 1967: 251). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-secgan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 301) “to say, speak; inform, utter, declare, tell, recite”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-salawen “den Glanz trüben, von der Sonne gebräunt sein” (Raven I 1963: 168). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-salbōn “salben” (Raven II 1967: 125). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-sealfian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 299) “to salve, anoint”; Gothic *ga-salbōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 293) “to anoint”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-sāligōn “beglücken, beseligen, erfreuen” (Raven II 1967: 125). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-salzōn “einen Tanz aufführen” (Raven II 1967: 125). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-samahaftōn “aneinanderereihen, verbinden” (Raven II 1967: 125). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *samahaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 506) “vermischt, zusammen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-samanōn “aufhängen, auftürmen, versammeln, zusammenzählen, bilden” (Raven II 1967: 126). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-samnian* II (Kluge 1989: 616) “to assemble, meet, collect, unite, join, gather together”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

(gi-)sarawen “ausrüsten” (Raven I 1963: 168). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

gi-satōn “(+gen.) sättigen, satt machen” (Raven II 1967: 127). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-sadian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 286) “to be sated, get wearied”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-seganōn “(ge)segnen” (Raven II 1967: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sālen “beseelen, beleben, (negative) schwächen, entkräften” (Raven I 1963: 168). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sāla* (Starck and Wells 1990: 514) “Seele, Geist”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi*).

gi-sāhaften “beseelen, beleben” (Raven I 1963: 168). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sāhaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 515) “beseelt, belebt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi*).

gi-selidōn “sich niederlassen, gefesselt sein, (von der Seele) sich eine Wohnung (im Körper) bereiten” (Raven II 1967: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-selkēn “(vom Gedächtnis) sich abstumpfen, schwächen oder erschlaffen” (Raven II 1967: 252). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **gi-selkējan* class III deverbative from strong verb **selkanan* (Seebold 1970: 392) “erschlaffen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *ir-selcan* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 515) “erschlaffen, schwächen”; OE *ā-seolcan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 26) “to become slack, remiss, relaxed, weak”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *gi*).

gi-semōn “verbleiben, verharren, sich versammeln (?)” (Raven II 1967: 128). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

gi-sentan “füllen, senden, bestimmen” (Raven I 1963: 170). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-sendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 302) “to send”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-sēren “einem das Herz brechen, betrüben, jemanden trübe stimmen, quälen” (Raven I 1963: 171). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sestōn “(an)ordnen, bestimmen” (Raven II 1967: 129). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sezzan “setzen, festsetzen, hineinsetzen, verabreden, ordnen, stiften, zusammenstellen, wiederherstellen, auseinanderlegen” (Raven I 1963: 174). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 304) “to set, put, fix, confirm, restore, appoint, decree, settle, possess, occupy, place together”; Gothic *ga-satjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 296) “to place, establish”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *fora-*, *furi-*, *ingagan-*, *in-*, *nidar-*, *ubar-*

gi-sibunōn “in sieben teilen, siebenteilig” (Raven II 1967: 129). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *sibun* cardinal numeral (Starck and Wells 1990: 520) “sieben”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi*).

gi-sibun-zalōn “auf sieben Abteilungen berechnen, aus sieben Zeitabschnitten bestehen, siebenteilig” (Raven II 1967: 129). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *sibun* cardinal numeral (Starck and Wells 1990: 520) “sieben”; cf. OHG *zalōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 753) “aufzählen, rechnen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (formed with additional prefix *gi*).

gi-sidalen “ansiedeln, sich niederlassen, bergen, in Sicherheit bringen, strömen” (Raven I 1963: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sihhurōn “frei ausgehen, sicher stellen” (Raven II 1967: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sitōn “bewirken, soweit bringen, durchsetzen, erreichen” (Raven II 1967: 130). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-sidōn* II (Schade II 1882: 769) “machen, tun, ausführen, in Stand setzen”; OE *ge-sidian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 305) “to arrange, set right, order”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-scadōn “schaden, verdammen” (Raven II 1967: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-scaffōn “bereiten, bewirken, machen, schaffen, bemessen, gestalten, instand setzen” (Raven II 1967: 132). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-scarōn “(von Reitern) ausbreiten, auseinandergehen lassen” (Raven II 1967: 132). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-skeinen “zeigen, erscheinen machen, beweisen, schauen, behaupten, zittern oder schimmern = blitzen, betrachten” (Raven I 1963: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-skenken “schenken, credenzen, trinken lassen” (Raven I 1963: 180). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-scencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 293) “to pour out, to give to drink”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-skenten “schänden, sich schähmen, beschähmen, berüchtigt machen, verschähmt, schimpflich, verwirren, bestürzt machen” (Raven I 1963: 180). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-skerien “anschaffen, anerschaffen; an-, aufwenden, absondern” (Raven I 1963: 322). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-skerpian “schärfen, schmieden, gespitzt” (Raven I 1963: 181). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-skerpian* I (Pfeifer III 1989: 1495) “schärfen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-skessōn “behauen” (Raven II 1967: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-skīben “mit einer gewissen Art runder, eingewebter Verzierung versehen, in Kunstweberarbeit anfertigen” (Raven I 1963: 181). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-skidōn “(mit dem Schwert) entscheiden, (von der Ehe) zu etwas ausschlagen oder werden” (Raven II 1967: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-skieren “beschleunigen, schnell betreiben, hurtig ausführen” (Raven I 1963: 181). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skieri*, *skēri* (Starck and Wells 1990: 541) “scharfsinnig, hell, klar”. The semantic connection is best seen in the MHG attested meaning: MHG *schier* (Lexer II 1876: 726) “schnell”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-skirmen “schirmen, verteidigen, helfen, beistehen, Hilfe bringen” (Raven I 1963: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-scōnōn “schmücken” (Raven II 1967: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *scōnen* I. Therefore OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

gi-scouwōn “schauen, (an)sehen, geruhen” (Raven II 1967: 135). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *scēawian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 293) “to look, gaze, see, behold, observe; inspect, examine; decree, grant, exhibit, display, show”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-screvōn “(dünne Goldfolien in Fäden oder Drähte) zerschneiden, einschneiden” (Raven II 1967: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-screiōn “jammern, kläglich rufen, schreien” (Raven II 1967: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-screnken “verschränken, binden” (Raven I 1963: 184). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-screncan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969:297) “to cause to shrink, destroy, supplant”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-scricken “sich beeilen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 549). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *dana-*, *īz-*, *zuo-*

gi-sculden “schulden, schuldig sein, verdienen, vollführen, fordern, Schuld bekommen” (Raven I 1963: 186). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-scyldan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 298) “to accuse”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-sculdōn “verschulden, einen zum besten haben, Schuld bekommen” (Raven II 1967: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-scutisōn “schaudern, zurückschrecken” (Raven II 1967: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-scutten “beben, zittern, blitzen” (Raven I 1963: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

gi-slaffēn “erstarren, starr werden” (Raven II 1967: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-slihten “ebnen, schlichten, gangbar machen, glätten” (Raven I 1963: 191). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zisamene-*

gi-slipfen “gleiten” (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-smāhen “angenehm, glatt, schlicht machen, sich (seiner Herrlichkeit) entäußern, sich erniedrigen” (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-smāhtōn “vergehen, dahinschwinden” (Raven II 1967: 139). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-smakēn “(intrs.) Geschmack von sich geben, schmecken, riechen” (Raven II 1967: 256). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-smecken “kosten, schmecken, den Geschmack wovon empfinden” (Raven I 1963: 193). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge smæccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 310) “to taste”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-smidōn “(Waffen) schmieden” (Raven II 1967: 139). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-smiðian* II (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 443) “to forge”; Gothic *ga-smiþon* II (Pfeifer III 1989: 1547) “(durch Schmieden) bewirken”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-snarhōn “schnarchen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 564). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sneitōn “(die Weinstöcke und Oliven) beschneiden, abschneiden, niederhauen” (Raven II 1967: 140). cf. OHG *sneiten* I (Seebold 1970: 443). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

gi-sparēn “zurückhalten, abliefern, niederlegen, (den Segen auf etwas) ruhen lassen, aufbewahrt werden” (Raven II 1967: 257). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-sparian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 315) “to spare, be indulgent or merciful to, save; to use sparingly, not to use; forbear, abstain from”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-spennen “entwöhnen” (Raven I 1963: 322). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-spentōn “spenden, (für eine Totenspeisung) verwenden” (Raven II 1967: 142). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*

gi-spilden “wüten, rasen, toben” (Raven I 1963: 196). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-spillan* I, with assimilation of 'd' to 'l' (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 315) “to destroy, dissipate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-spottōn “verspotten” (Raven II 1967: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-spreiten “kenntlich machen, verbreiten, fortpflanzen” (Raven I 1963: 197). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-sprædan* I (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 444) “to spread out, extend”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-spriuzzen “spreizen, sich stemmen oder stützen, regieren, steuern, befördern, unterstützen” (Raven I 1963: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-spūnōn “etwas auslegen, auseinandersetzen, (disputieren)” (Raven II 1967: 145). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-spuoen “erreichen, vollenden, zustande bringen” (Raven I 1963: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-spuoten “beschleunigen, sich sputen, Erfolg verliehen” (Raven I 1963: 199). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-spēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 315) “to speed, prosper, succeed”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-spuriēn “aufspüren, erforschen” (Raven I 1963: 323). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-spyrian* II, by levelling as umlaut indicates origin in class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “to make a track, go, pursue, travel, journey; follow out, ask about, investigate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-stabēn “(von der Hand) am Schwertgriff stecken bleiben, verzagen, erstarren, starr werden” (Raven II 1967: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-starkēn “stark werden, erstarken, erstarren” (Raven II 1967: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stāten “aufstellen, hinsetzen, zum Herrn über jemanden setzen, (ewig) dauern oder verharren” (Raven I 1963: 200). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*

gi-stātigōn “befestigen, feststellen, begründen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 587). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-statōn “vermieten, verpachten, (hin)stellen, stillstehen, sich zur Ruhe oder zu Bett begeben, sich niederlassen, an einen Ort bringen, standhalten” (Raven II 1967: 146). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-steden “Schiffe ans Land ziehen” (Raven I 1963: 323). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

gi-steinen “to set with stones” (Lehmann 1986: 321). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-stānan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 317) “to adorn with precious stones”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-stecken “lagern, Zelte aufschlagen, fest richten oder heften, durchstechen oder töten” (Raven I 1963: 201). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *in-*

gi-steckōn, *gi-stehhōn* “zerstechen” (Raven II 1967: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stellen “zum Stehen bringen, zu bedenken geben, an etwas befestigen” (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stemēn “(+dat.) einem Einhalt tun, unterdrücken” (Raven II 1967: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stemōn “(impers. +dat.) guten Mutes sein, sich besänftigen (= zu schreien aufhören)” (Raven II 1967: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stenken “(be-)räuchern” (Raven I 1963: 202). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-stencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 320) “to stink; to scatter”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-sterken “stärken, befestigen, festmachen, härten, (aus)rüsten” (Raven I 1963: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stiften “begründen, bewohnen, feststellen, ordnen, ausstellen” (Raven I 1963: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sticken “ganz anfüllen” (Raven I 1963: 205). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stillen “stille machen, besänftigen, schwiegen machen, bändigen, beschwören, widerlegen” (Raven I 1963: 205). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-stillian* I (Kluge 1989: 703) “beruhigen”; OE *ge-stillian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 322) “to rest, cease, be still or silent; to restrain, still, stop, delay, calm”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-stillēn “aufhören, nachlassen, (vom Wind, vom Toben des Meeres) sich legen, sich beruhigen, abnehmen, zögern, unterworfen daliegen, verstummen d.h. umkommen, sich mildern, ablassen von etwas, tiefe oder unheimliche Nacht, Mitternacht” (Raven II 1967: 259). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-stillan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 322) “to be still, have rest”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-stimmen “anstimmen” (Raven I 1963: 205). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stimna* (Starck and Wells 1990: 593) “Stimme”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-stiuren “unterstützen” (Raven I 1963: 206). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-stīeran*, *ge-stȳran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 321) “to steer, direct, rule, correct, restrain, withhold”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-storkanēn “verzagen” (Raven II 1967: 259). No cognate verbs are attested. (see *ir-storkanēn*). Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-stouben “forttreiben, verjagen, aufstöbern” (Raven I 1963: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stōzōn “schütteln, heftig stoßen” (Raven II 1967: 149). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-streihhen “umwickeln, (Haar) kräuseln oder locken” (Raven I 1963: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

gi-strengen “stärken” (Raven I 1963: 209). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-strengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 323) “to strengthen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-strewen “streuen, bestreuen, herumstellen, niederwerfen” (Raven I 1963: 324). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-strewian* levelling to class II? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 324) “to strew, scatter”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-striunen “gewinnen, zurichten, Gehorsam oder Fügsamkeit” (Raven I 1963: 209). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-strīenan*, *ge-strȳnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 324) “to gain, get, obtain, acquire; beget, procreate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-studen “begründen, gründen, stützen, feststellen, festmachen, errichten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 601). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stullen “stille stehen, anhalten, (reflex.) einhalten, sich zurückhalten, sich mäßigen” (Raven I 1963: 211). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stungen “antreiben, antreffen, überwerfen” (Raven I 1963: 211). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-stuoēn “sühnen, büßen, rächen, Rache suchen” (Raven I 1963: 210). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *ga-stoġan* I (Lehmann 1986: 326) “to judge”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-sūbaren “säubern, frisieren, zierlich machen” (Raven I 1963: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-suntarōn “(ab-, aus-)sondern, trennen, vereinzeln” (Raven II 1967: 151). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-sundrian* II (Kluge 1989: 679) “to sunder, separate, divide”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gisuntēn “gesund oder am Leben bleiben” (Raven II 1967: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gisunt(i)* (Starck and Wells 1990: 223) “gesund, glücklich, wohlbehalten”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

gi-suntōn “sündigen” (Raven II 1967: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-suohhen “begehren, bestimmen, aufsuchen, trachten” (Raven I 1963: 216). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-sēcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 301) “to seek, inquire, ask for; go to visit; persecute, afflict”; Gothic *ga-sokjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 318) “to seek”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

gi-suonen “versöhnen, urteilen, durch Seidenspruch schlichten” (Raven I 1963: 217). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-sōnian* I (Kluge 1989: 714) “aussöhnen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*

gi-suozen “versüßen, würzen, angenehm machen, (reflex.) sich beliebt machen, gesung machen oder werden” (Raven I 1963: 218). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-swāan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 331) “to make sweet, sweeten”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-supfen “schlürfen” (Raven I 1963: 218). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sūren “sauern, sauer oder scharf machen” (Raven I 1963: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-swāren “beschweren” (Raven I 1963: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-swārēn “(von den Augen) vor lauter Müdigkeit zufallen” (Raven II 1967: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-swāsen “vertrauten Umgang mit jemandem pflegen, sich fest vertraut machen” (Raven I 1963: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *swās* (Starck and Wells 1990: 614) “privat, häuslich, abgelegen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-sweden “warmhalten, (er)wärmen” (Raven I 1963: 325). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sweifēn “fegen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 615). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sweigen “zum Schweigen bringen, stillen, das Reden unterbrechen, aufhören zu reden, verdammen, (erschlagen), verstummen” (Raven I 1963: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-sweihhen “abbiegen, ab-, ausweichen” (Raven I 1963: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **ga-swaikejan*, deverbative formation from strong verb **sweikanan* (Seebold 1970: 486) “ausweichen” (see under *swihhōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-swerzen “beflecken, beschmutzen” (Raven I 1963: 221). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-swiftēn “verstummen, umkommen, ruhig oder lässig bleiben” (Raven II 1967: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **swifti* “stumm”, which can be reconstructed from: MHG *swifte* (Starck and Wells 1990: 618) “stumm”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-swīgēn “(+gen. rei) schweigen, nicht reden, verstummen, umkommen, verheeren” (Raven II 1967: 262). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-swigian* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 332) “to be or become silent, keep silence, be quiet, still”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-swillēn “(vom Körper) hart oder zäh werden” (Raven II 1967: 262). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-swintilōn “schwindlig machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 620). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-tagadingōn “zeitlich verschieben, einen Tag bestimmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 621). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-tapfaren “bewaffnen” (Raven I 1963: 221). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tapfar* (Kluge 1989: 721) “schwer, gewichtig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-tar attested in OHG only with prefix *gi-* “wagen” (Seebold 1970: 147). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *dar(r)* preterite-present (Seebold 1970: 147) “wagen”; OFs. *dūr* preterite-present (Seebold 1970: 147) “wagen”; OE *dear(r)* preterite-present (Seebold 1970: 147) “to dare”; Gothic *dars* preterite-present (Seebold 1970: 147) “sculdig sein, sollen”. These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **dars* (Seebold 1970: 147) “wagt”. This verb can be traced back to an IE $\sqrt{*dhers-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 259) “wagen, kühn sein; (älter) angreifen, losgehen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Latin *infestus* (Seebold 1970: 147) “unsicher, feindlich”; Greek *θάρσος* (Seebold 1970: 147) “Zuversicht, Kühnheit, Frechheit”; Skt *drśnoti* (Seebold 1970: 147) “ist kühn, wagt”; Lith. *dresù, drīsti* (Seebold 1970: 147) “wagen”; OCS *drbzati* sekundäre Umgestaltung (Seebold 1970: 147) “mutig sein, getrost sein”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present).

gi-tarnen “verhehlen” (Raven I 1963: 222). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-diernan*, *ge-dyrnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 222) “to keep secret, hide, restrain, repress”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-tarōn “schaden, beschädigen” (Raven II 1967: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-teilen “auf-, verteilen, ausgeben” (Raven I 1963: 224). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-dælan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 82) “to divide, part, separate, share”; Gothic *ga-dailjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 87) “to divide, apportion”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-temparōn “(nach Jahreszeiten) gehörig einrichten, Abwechslung einführen, regeln, (vom Wein) würzen, (vom Haar) frisieren” (Raven II 1967: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-terien “schaden” (Raven I 1963: 325). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-titulōn “betiteln, mit einem Titel versehen, bezeichnen” (Raven II 1967: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-tiuren “verherrlichen, bekränzen” (Raven I 1963: 226). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-dēorran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 85) “to hold dear, glorify, endear”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-tōden “töten, (zum Schlaf) sich niederlegen” (Raven I 1963: 226). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *ga-daupjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 89) “to kill”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-tolōn “sich überheben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 629). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *tol* (Starck and Wells 1990: 629) “töricht, albern”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-touben “dünner, d.h. geringfügig machen” (Raven I 1963: 226). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *ga-daubjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 88) “to harden”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-toufen “sich (das Gewissen von Sünden mit Tränen) reinwäschen, d.h. mit Tränen büßen” (Raven I 1963: 227). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-dȳpan*, *ge-diēpan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 91) “to dip, baptize, anoint”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-tōwen “sterben” (Raven I 1963: 326). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-trāgen “(das Augenlicht) schwach machen oder trüben” (Raven I 1963: 227). No cognate verbs are attested. For simplex verb see: OHG *trāgōn* III (Raven II 1967: 157) “träge oder langsam werden, stumpf sein”; OHG *trāgēn* III (Raven II 1967: 263) “träge, verdrossen, langsam werden; launisch, verdrießlich sein”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class I).

gi-tragōn “sich betragen, sich unterhalten, ernähren” (Raven II 1967: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **ga-dragōjan* (Seebold 1970: 160) class II deverbative from strong verb **draganan* (Seebold 1970: 160) “schleppen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *tragan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 160) “tragen, bringen; besitzen, ertragen”; OS *dragan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 160) “tragen, bringen, hegen”; OFs. *drega* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 160) “tragen, bringen”; OE *dragan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 87) “to drag, draw; go; protract”; ON *draga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 160) “ziehen, drehen (Mühle), zusammentragen, erwerben”; Gothic *dragan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 160) “(reflex. +acc.) sich aufladen, beziehen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-trahtōn “(+gen.) erwägen, betrachten, ersinnen” (Raven II 1967: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-trenken “tränken” (Raven I 1963: 228). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-drencan* I (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 385) “to drench, drown”; Gothic *ga-dragkjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 94) “to give to drink”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-trōsten “trösten, erquicken, aufmuntern” (Raven I 1963: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-trūēn, *gi-trūwēn* “(+dat. pers. vel rei) alliiieren, sich verbünden, sich verlassen auf, auf etwas Vertrauen setzen, vertrauend, einer Sache sklavisch ergeben, jemandem Sicherheit verschaffen, trauen, glauben, Glauben schenken in bezug auf etwas” (Raven II 1967: 265). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-trūwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 349) “to trust; inspire with trust; persuade”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-truginōn “(eine Geschichte) erdichten, fingieren” (Raven II 1967: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-truckanen “trocknen, trocken machen” (Raven I 1963: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-truoben “verwirren, in Unruhe setzen” (Raven I 1963: 231). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-drōbian* I (Lehmann 1986: 96) “to afflict”; OE *ge-drēfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 88) “to disturb, trouble, stir up, excite, vex, afflict”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-trūrigōn “betrübt oder traurig werden” (Raven II 1967: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *trūrag* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1832) “traurig, bekümmert, betrübt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-tungen “reichlich düngen” (Raven I 1963: 232). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-dyngan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 91) “to dung”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-tuohhen “flicken, tuchartig machen, stücken, zusammensetzen” (Raven I 1963: 233). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-tuomen “sich hervortun, sich berühmt machen” (Raven I 1963: 233). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-dēman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 84) “to judge, determine, decide, decree, sentence, condemn; assign; deem, consider, think, estimate; praise, glorify”; Gothic *ga-domjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 93) “to judge”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

giturstōn “Kühnheit oder Verwegenheit haben” (Raven II 1967: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *giturst* (Starck and Wells 1990: 225) “Wagnis, Kühnheit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

giturstīgōn “kühn oder verwegen sein” (Raven II 1967: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *giturstīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 225) “mutig, kühn”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

gi-twalōn “sich aufhalten, (ver)zögern” (Raven II 1967: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-twellen “(ver)zögern, verweilen, versäumen” (Raven I 1963: 234). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-dwellan* I (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 386) “to deceive, lead astray”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ūfen, gi-ūffen “sich offenbaren, hervorbringen” (Raven I 1963: 234). Cf. OHG *gi-ūfēn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 651) “sich auf tun, hervorbringen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-yppan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 431) “to bring out, open, manifest, disclose, display, reveal, betray, come forth, be disclosed”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ūffaren “enthüllen, offenbaren, entblößen, abdecken, [verlassen]” (Raven I 1963: 234). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ūf* adv. (Starck and Wells 1990: 651) “oben, obenauf”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation (formed with r-extension and prefix *gi-*).

gi-ūfinōn “heben, hervorbringen” (Raven II 1967: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ūf-rūnen “etwas entknoten, (übtr.) auflösen, deutlich erklären, enthüllen, bloßlegen” (Raven I 1963: 162). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-ūf-slagōn “mit etwas aufhören, etwas unterlassen, auf-, verschieben, sich verzögern (?)” (Raven II 1967: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-unēren “schänden, entehren, (ver)lästern, schelten” (Raven I 1963: 235). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-unērōn “die Ehre vermindern, einengen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 657). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-unērian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 370) “to dishonour”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-unfrewen, gi-unfrouwen “betrüben, traurig machen, beunruhigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 658). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-unfruoten “zur Torheit oder unverständlich machen, betören” (Raven I 1963: 237). cf. OHG *unfruotēn* III (Starck and Wells 1990: 658). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class I).

gi-unliumunthaftōn “ruchbar machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 668). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-unliumuntōn “berüchtigt machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 668). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-unmagēn “kraftlos werden, schwach werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 668). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-unmahtēn “ohnmächtig werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 668). cf. OHG *unmahten* I (Raven I 1963: 242). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class III).

gi-unreinen, gi-unhreinen “schänden, besudeln, beflecken” (Raven I 1963: 242). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-unslihten “zum Fall bringen oder moralisch abirren, d.h. sündigen” (Raven I 1963: 242). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unslit, unslit* (Starck and Wells 1990: 672) “Unschlitt, Fett”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-unstillen “keine Unruhe geben, keine unnötigen Laster jemandem aufbürden, nicht beunruhigen” (Raven I 1963: 242). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-unstillan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 385) “to disturb, disquiet, agitate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ga-unstelljijan* “to disturb, disquiet”. This verb is probably best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class III prefix formation **ga-unstelljējan* (see under *gi-unstillēn*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

gi-unstillēn “übermütig werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 673). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-unstillian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 385) “to disturb, disquiet, agitate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-unsūbaren “verunreinigen, vernichten, verunstalten” (Raven I 1963: 243). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-unsūbarōn “verunstalten, entstellen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 673). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-untar-marcōn “genau abgrenzen” (Raven II 1967: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-untarskeitōn “unterscheiden, abteilen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 676). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-untar-skidōn “den Streit fernhalten von” (Raven II 1967: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-untiuren “entwerten, im Werte herabsetzen” (Raven I 1963: 243). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *untiuri* (Starck and Wells 1990: 676) “wertlos, geringen Wertes”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-unwirden “vernichten, niederreißen” (Raven I 1963: 243). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-unwirdōn “vernichten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 678). cf. OHG *unwirden* I. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

gi-unwirsirōn “verderben, schlechter machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 678). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unwirsiro* comparative adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 678) “nicht schlimmer”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-uoben “einstechen, das Messer führen” (Raven I 1963: 244). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-urdriozōn “drängen, plagen, zerknirschen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 681). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *urdrioz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 681) “Lästiges, Verdrießliches, Ekel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-urkunden “warnen” (Raven I 1963: 245). No cognate verbs attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-urkundōn “bezeugen, bekunden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 682). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-urougen “aus den Augen, unsichtbar, verschwinden” (Raven I 1963: 246). No cognate verbs attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *urougi* (Schützeichel 1969: 217) “unsichtbar”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-urwānen “hoffnungslos” (Starck and Wells 1990: 685). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-orwēnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 270) “to despair”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ga-urwēnijan* “to despair”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *urwāni* (Starck and Wells 1990: 685) “hoffnungslos, unmöglich”; OE *orwēna*, *orwēne* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 270) “hopeless, despairing of; despaired of, desparate”; ON *órvaēnn* (Fritzner II 1954: 354) “without hope, hopeless, desparate”; Gothic *uswena* (Lehmann 1986: 401) “callous, without expectations”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **urwēn(j)az* “hopeless, desparate, without hope”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ga-*).

gi-ūzōn “ausschließen, absperren” (Starck and Wells 1990: 687). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-ūtian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 390) “to put out, expel; alienate (property)”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wāfanen “bewaffnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 688). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wahhsen “mit Wachs bedecken, wachsen, wichen” (Raven I 1963: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

giwalt-biotōn “gebieten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 226). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *giwalt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 226) “Gewalt, Macht, Herrschaft”; cf. OHG *biotān* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 57) “bezeichnen, entgegenhalten, anbieten”. Note that the strong verb *biotān* becomes a class II weak verb by analogy with the OHG pattern of forming class II verbs prefixed with a substantive. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wānen “(+gen.) erwähnen, mucksen, murren, die Zunge gegen jemanden spitzen, preisen, erinnern, gedenken” (Raven I 1963: 249). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wēnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 402) “to ween, fancy, imagine, believe, think; expect, hope; fear (for), despair (of); esteem; wonder”; Gothic *ga-wenjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 401) “to expect”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-wancōn “schwanken, wanken, unfest werden, abirren” (Raven II 1967: 172). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wantalōn “borgen (die Tracht) verändern” (Raven II 1967: 174). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wāren “bewähren, beweisen, erfüllen, Beweise erbringen, (einen Bund) schließen” (Raven I 1963: 250). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

giwar-festen “feststellen, für wahr erklären” (Starck and Wells 1990: 227). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *giwar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 226) “achtsam, vorsorgend, geschickt”; cf. OHG *festen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 149) “befestigen, beweisen, übergeben”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-warmen “erwärmen” (Raven I 1963: 251). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wyrman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 427) “to warm, make warm”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-warnōn “(reflex.+gen.) (mit Waffen) ausrüsten, bewaffnen, sich womit versehen, warnen” (Raven II 1967: 175). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-warnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 397) “to warn, caution; to take warning, take heed, guard oneself against”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wārrahhōn “Schlüsse ziehen, folgern” (Raven II 1967: 175). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wartēn “(+gen. rei) achten auf, (reflex.) sich hüten, sich vorsehen” (Raven II 1967: 270). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-weardian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 399) “to watch, guard, keep, protect, preserve; hold, possess, occupy, inhabit”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wāren “(be)kleiden” (Raven I 1963: 251). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-watōn “kleiden” (Raven II 1967: 176). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wædian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 392) “to clothe, dress, equip, furnish”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wegen “angeben, hinzufügen, bewegen” (Raven I 1963: 329). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-weggian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 704) “bewegen, erregen, schütteln”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wehsalōn “ändern, sich verstellen, die Gesichtszüge ändern” (Raven II 1967: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-weigen “(be)strafen, prüfen” (Raven I 1963: 252). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wāgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 391) “to trouble, afflict”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-weihhen “erweichen, weich, weichlich oder lenksam machen, bändigen” (Raven I 1963: 252). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wācan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 391) “to weaken, oppress, trouble”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-weihhēn “schwach, mürbe, fügsam oder entkräftet werden” (Raven II 1967: 271). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wācian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 391) “to become weak, languish; be cowardly”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-weizen “zeigen, an-, beweisen, kundtun, Befehl geben” (Raven I 1963: 253). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wellen “wählen, auswählen” (Raven I 1963: 330). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *ga-waljan* I (Lehmann 1986: 392) “to select”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-welzen “schenken” (Raven I 1963: 255). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wyltan*, *ge-wæltan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 426) “to roll”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *nidar-*, *zuo-*

gi-wemmen “beflecken, verderben” (Raven I 1963: 255). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wemman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 402). Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

giwēn “nach etwas gierig trachten” (Raven II 1967: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. The ‘w’ is probably a secondary development representing an intervocalic glide, and the verb itself possibly ultimately derives from an IE $\sqrt{*ghā}$, $*gh̑$ (Pokorny I 1956: 419) “gähnen, klaffen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Latin *hiāre* (Lehmann 1986: 104) “to yawn”; Lith. *zioti* (Lehmann 1986: 104) “öffnen, gähnen”; OCS *zinoti* (Lehmann 1986: 104) “gähnen, klaffen”. Despite the fact that the verb is not attested in the Gmc languages outside OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a possible pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

gi-wenken “schwanken, abtrünnig werden, im Stiche lassen” (Raven I 1963: 256). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-(h)wennen “(das Schwert) schärfen” (Raven I 1963: 331). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wennen “gewöhnen, locken? [angenehm sein?]” (Raven I 1963: 331). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wenian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 403) “to accustom, habituate, inure, train; entertain; tame, wean”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wenten “sich wenden, zurückwenden, aufkommen” (Raven I 1963: 258). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-wendian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 710) “abwenden, hindern”;

OE *ge-wendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 402) “to turn, direct; wend one's way, go; happen; change, alter”; Gothic *ga-wandjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 393) “to bring back, turn, convert”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-(h)werben “hin-, oder ablenken (von etwas), umkehren, zurückführen, wahrnehmen” (Raven I 1963: 259). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hwierfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 199) “to turn, revolve, change, transfer, convert, return; wander”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-werdlīhōn “achten, würdigen” (Raven II 1967: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-werdōn “geruhen, für wert erachten, würdigen, es für würdig halten, schätzen, einen Wert festsetzen, zulassen, wollen, die Gnade erweisen, verherrlichen, begabt” (Raven II 1967: 180). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-werthōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 391). OE *gi-weorðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 404) “to esteem, honour, worship, distinguish, celebrate, exalt, praise; adorn, deck; enrich, reward”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*gi-werēn*² “(+acc. pers. et gen. rei vel acc. rei) achtgeben, beobachten, erfüllen, gewähren, sich hüten, leisten, vollziehen” (Raven II 1967: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*gi-werien*² “sich kleiden, mit etwas ausgestattet oder versehen, begabt” (Raven I 1963: 332). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-werian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 405) “to clothe, cover over, put on, wear, use”; Gothic *ga-wasjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 395) “to clothe”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-wercōn “arbeiten, handeln” (Raven II 1967: 181). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-werkōn* II (Schade II 1882: 1128). Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-werten “entweihen, verwüsten, vermindern” (Raven I 1963: 260). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wyrdan*, *ge-wierdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 408) “to spoil, injure, destroy, violate, obstruct”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wettōn “als Kampfpfeis einsetzen” (Raven II 1967: 181). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *ga-wadjan* II (Pfeifer III 1989:1968) “verloben (durch Bürgerschaft)”; OE *ge-weddian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 100) “to engage, pledge oneself, covenant, promise, vow; give to wife, betroth; wed, marry”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-(h)wezzen “wetzen, schärfen, scharf machen” (Raven I 1963: 260). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-hwettan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 198) “to whet, sharpen, incite, encourage”; Gothic *ga-hwetjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 139) “to entice, mislead”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-widarōn “einem etwas streitig machen” (Raven II 1967: 182). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wīthen “weihe, segnen” (Raven I 1963: 262). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-wīhian* I (Holthausen 1967: 87) “weihe, einweihe, segnen”; Gothic *ga-weihjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 398) “to consecrate”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-willōn “(+dat pers.) Genüge leisten, befriedigen, bewilligen, nach jemand's Willen handeln, ihm Genugtuung verschaffen” (Raven II 1967: 183). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-willian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 410) “to wish, desire”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wimidōn “wimmeln (von Würmen in der Nahrung)” (Raven II 1967: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-winniscaffōn “zuvor jemandes Herz auf künstliche Art (schlau) zu erforschen suchen” (Raven II 1967: 183). cf. OHG *winniscaffen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 732) “einen Friedensvertrag schließen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

gi-wintaren “überwintern” (Raven I 1963: 263). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wintred* participle adj. (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 412) “grown up, adult, aged”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wintōn “mit der Wurfschaufel und der Gabel worfeln” (Raven II 1967: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wirden “gerechtsprechen, maßgebend sein, würdigen” (Raven I 1963: 264). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wyrðan*, *ge-wierðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 428) “to value, appraise”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wirdōn “schätzen, würdigen” (Raven II 1967: 185). cf. OHG *wirden* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 737) “ehren, wert machen”. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

gi-wirken “tun, antun, ausführen, wirken, bewirken, bereiten, schaffen, verursachen, vollbringen” (Raven I 1963: 266). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-wirkian* I (Holthausen 1967: 88) “tun, machen; erlangen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wirsirōn “ärgern, Anstoß nehmen, sich enttäuschend zeigen, zum Bösen verführen, übler oder schlimmer machen, verschlechtern, verschlimmern, verwundern, mißhandeln, schaden, schwächen” (Raven II 1967: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wīsen “anweisen, zeigen, herbeirufen” (Raven I 1963: 267). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-wīsian* I (Holthausen 1967: 88) “zeigen, verkünden”; OE *ge-wīsan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 412) “to direct, instruct, guide, lead, point out, show”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-*, *fram-*

gi-wīson “darauf ausgehen, sich einer Sache annehmen, sehen nach, versuchen, besuchen” (Raven II 1967: 186). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wīsian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 412) “to direct, instruct, guide, lead; point out, show”; Gothic *ga-weisōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 153) “to persuade”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

giwissōn “gewiß oder sicher machen” (Raven II 1967: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *giwis*, *giwissi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 228) “gewiß, bestimmt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

gi-wībreitōn “allgemein bekannt machen, verbreiten, (den Ruhm) ausdehnen” (Raven II 1967: 186). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wīlen “weit machen, aufsperrern” (Raven I 1963: 267). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wāirōn “ausdehnen, erweitern, die Erzählung verlängern” (Raven II 1967: 187). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wāiro* comparative form of OHG *wā* (Starck and Wells 1990: 740) “weit, geräumig, umfangreich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-wittōn “das Haupthaar ordnen, mit Bändern binden” (Raven II 1967: 187). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wāzinōn “strafbar, mit Worten verunglimpfen, Strafprediger sein” (Raven II 1967: 188). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wīnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 414) “to punish, chastise, torture, afflict”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wizzēn “klug, verständig, gewitzigt sein, geschult sein auf, Kenntnisse haben für” (Raven II 1967: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-wonēn “sich gewöhnen, gewohnt sein, pflegen, sich freuen” (Raven II 1967: 275). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wunian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 426) “to inhabit, dwell, abide, exist; remain, continue, stand; be used to, be want to”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wunnisamōn “frohlocken” (Raven II 1967: 189). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wynsumian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 426) “to rejoice, exalt; make glad, make pleasing”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-wunsken “wünschen, erwünschen, ersehnen; (+acc.) etwas durch Zauberei schaffen” (Raven I 1963: 268). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wyſcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 428) “to wish”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

gi-wuntarlīhōn “auf wunderbare Weise beweisen” (Raven II 1967: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wuntarlīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 748) “wunderbar, bewundernswert, erstaunlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-wurken “herausgeben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 750). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-wyrcean* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 427) “to strive after; deserve, gain, win, acquire”; Gothic *ga-waurkjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 396) “to effect”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-wurten “glauben, Vertrauen setzen” (Raven I 1963: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wort* (Starck and Wells 1990: 746) “Wort, Rede”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-zalazzen “aufzählen, ausrechnen” (Raven I 1963: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. Intensive deverbative from OHG class II weak verb *zalōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-zalōn “berechnen, erzählen” (Raven II 1967: 192). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-talian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 337) “to count, calculate, reckon, account, consider, think, esteem, value; argue; tell, relate; impute, assign”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-zamōn “zähmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 753). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zehhōn “ausbessern, wiederherstellen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 755). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*gi-zeigōn*¹ “andeuten, bezeichnen, zeigen” (Raven II 1967: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zeihhanen “mit einem Zeichen versehen, durch Striche abbilden, zeichnen, (übtr.) auszeichnen, kennzeichnen, durch Sonderzeichen unterscheiden” (Raven I 1963: 273). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-tācan* I (<**ge-tācnan* by loss of 'n') (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 336) “to mark by a token, denote, designate, mark out”; Gothic *ga-taiknjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 340) “to teach”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *avur-*

gi-zeihhanōn “bezeichnen, zeigen” (Raven II 1967: 194). OE *ge-tācnian* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 336) “to mark, indicate; betoken, denote, signify, represent; symbolize; portend; demonstrate, express”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*gi-zeinen*¹ “andeuten, anzeigen” (Raven I 1963: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zeinōn “andeuten, zeigen” (Raven II 1967: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zellen “zählen, auf-, erzählen, bestimmen, nennen, rechnen, bezichtigen” (Raven I 1963: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. OE *ge-tellan* I (Kluge 1989: 804) “to tell, reckon, count, number, compute, calculate; estimate, consider, think, esteem”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-zemmen “zähmen” (Raven 1963: 333). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-temian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 339) “to tame, subdue”; Gothic *ga-tamjan* I (Kluge 1989: 804) “to tame”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-zessōn “abseits gehen, sich zurückziehen” (Raven II 1967: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zieren “sorgfältig zieren, schmücken, schminken” (Raven I 1963: 278). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zilōn “sich anstrengen, sich beeifern, erzeugen” (Raven II 1967: 195). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-tilian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 341) “to treat, care”; Gothic *ga-tilōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 344) “to achieve”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-zimbaren “aufbauen, (Belagerungswerke) aufführen” (Raven I 1963: 279). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-timbran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 314) “to build, construct, erect; cut timber; edify; do”; Gothic *ga-timrjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 345). Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

gi-zimbarōn “erbauen, errichten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 763). OE *timbrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 341) “to build, construct, erect; cut timber; edify; do”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-zinsen “verurteilen, eine Geldbüße auflegen” (Raven I 1963: 279). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zāren “sich frühmorgens wohinbegeben, frühmorgens wohingehen” (Raven I 1963: 279). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-tīdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 340) “to betide, happen; to fall to one's lot”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

gi-ziugōn “(vom Besitz) Zeugnis ablegen, zustande bringen, ausführen” (Raven II 1967: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zockarōn “wegraffen, wegstehlen, bejährt” (Raven II 1967: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **tukk(a)rōjan* intensive gemination? “wegraffen”, class II frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with r-extension) from OHG weak verb *zockōn* “rauben, wegraffen” (which see). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (with prefix *gi-* and r-extension).

gi-zuhten “bilden, unterrichten” (Raven I 1963: 280). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zucken “weglocken, sich schnell zusammenziehen, zusammenzücken” (Raven I 1963: 280). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

gi-zuckōn “rupfen, wegstehlen, (von der haut) zusammenschrumpfen, runzelig machen” (Raven II 1967: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zīsamene-*

gi-zumften “sich zusammenfinden, sich vereinen, sich vereinigen, übereinstimmen, ausarbeiten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gizumftidōn “sich zusammenfinden, übereinkommen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gizumftida* (Starck and Wells 1990: 230) “Vereinigung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

gi-zumftigōn “eins werden, übereinkommen, sich eidlich verbinden, sich verständigen, vergleichen, sich verschwören” (Raven II 1967: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *zumftīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 770) “friedlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *gi-*).

gi-zunten “wieder erwärmen, erquicken” (Raven I 1963: 282). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zwehōn “Zweifel hegen” (Raven II 1967: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zwicken “die Augen verdunkeln, d.h. finster anschauen, missfällig betrachten” (Raven I 1963: 283). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

gi-zwirnēn “zwirnen, Faden zweifach sammeldrehen” (Raven II 1967: 277). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

glanzen, glenzen “glänzen” (Raven I 1963: 58). The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *glanz* (Kluge 1989: 268) “glänzend, hell” (This adjective may be postverbal, however).

Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb

***gleifen, gi-gleifit-** “schräg” (Starck and Wells 1990: 231). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gleif* (Starck and Wells 1990: 231) “schräg”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival preterite participle construction.

glien “piepen” (Raven I 1963: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I weak deverbative from OHG strong verb *glian* (Starck and Wells 1990: 231) “piepen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

glilōn “mucksen, greinen, jemandem etwas anhaben, gegen jemanden die Zunge spitzen” (Raven II 1967: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. No certain etymology.

glizzinōn “glänzen, glitzern, zucken = funkeln, blitzen, schimmern, schwingen, rauh oder schuppig sein” (Raven II 1967: 55). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *glitenian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 157) “to glitter, shine, be distinguished”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **glitnōjan* (Seebold 1970: 231) class II zero-grade deverbative (formed with n-extension) from strong verb **gleitanan* (Seebold 1970: 231) “gleißen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OS *glītan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 231) “gleißen, glänzen”; OHG *glīzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 231) “glänzen, funkeln”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation (formed with n-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

glosten “glühen, glänzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. No certain etymology, but probably related to *gluoen* (which see).

gluoen “glühen, glänzen, heiß brennen” (Raven I 1963: 58). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *glōian* I (Kluge 1989: 270) “glühen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **glōjan* class I weak deverbative from strong verb **glōanan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 233) “glühen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *glōwan* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 270) “to glow like coal of fire”; cf. ON *glóa* wk vb II (Kluge 1989: 270) “leuchten, glänzen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

gnaneisten “funkeln, flackern, Funken sprühen” (Raven I 1963: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gnaneista* (Starck and Wells 1990: 232) “Funke”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *īf-*

gnaneistōn “funkeln, flackern, Funken sprühen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *gnaneisten*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

gniffen “jucken” (Raven I 1963: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

gnitisōn “glatt oder rein reiben, polieren” (Raven II 1967: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **gnidisōjan* zero-grade class II deverbative (with s-extension) from strong verb **gneidanan* (Seebold 1970: 234) “reiben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *gnītan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 234) “reiben, stampfen”; MLG *gniden* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 234). OE *gnīdan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 234) “to rub, grind together, crumble”; Swed. *gnida* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 234) “reiben” (loan verb?). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

got-a-lobōn “Segen bringen, wohlütig oder großmütig sein” (Raven II 1967: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *got* (Starck and Wells 1990: 232) “Gott, der Herr”; cf. OHG *lobōn* II

(Starck and Wells 1990: 382) “loben, rühmen, anerkennen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (*got* + thematic vowel + *lobōn*).

gotten “(sich) rechtfertigen, rechtun” (Raven I 1963: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *got* (Starck and Wells 1990: 234) “Gott, der Herr”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

gougalōn “Zauberei treiben” (Raven II 1967: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gougal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 235) “Gaukelei, Blendwerk, Trugbild”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

gougarōn “umherschweifen, [müßig gehen]” (Raven II 1967: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

goumen “schmausen, achthaben auf, wahrnehmen” (Raven I 1963: 59). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gōmian* I (Kluge 1989: 247) “Acht haben, hüten; bewirten”; OE *gȳman*, *gīēman* I (Kluge 1989: 247) “to care for, take care of, take heed to to, heed, observe, regard, keep”; ON *geyma* I (Kluge 1989: 247) “beachten, sorgen für”; Gothic *gaumjan* I (Kluge 1989: 247) “to see, observe”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **gaumijanan* (Kluge 1989: 247) “beachten, besorgen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gouma* (Starck and Wells 1990: 235) “Mahl, Festmahl”. Note also the phrase *gouma nēman* (Starck and Wells 1990: 235) “wahrnehmen, beachten, in Betracht ziehen”; OS *gōma* (Kluge 1989: 247) “Gastmahl, Bewirtung; Acht, Aufmerksamkeit”; OE *gȳme*, *gīēme* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 154) “care”; ON *gaum*, *gaumr* (Kluge 1989: 247) “Aufmerksamkeit”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **gaumō* (Kluge 1989: 247) “Aufmerksamkeit, Obacht”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fora-*, *fora-bi-*, *fora-gi-*, *gi-*

goumōn “schmausen, speisen, bewirten, Mahlzeit einnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *goumen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

grabōn “die Erde mit der Hacke bearbeiten, sie behacken oder jäten” (Raven II 1967: 56). cf. OHG *grubilōn* I. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **grabōjan* (Seebold 1970: 236) class II deverbative from strong verb **grabanan* (Seebold 1970: 235) “graben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *graban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 236) “graben, schnitzen, ausmeißeln”; OS *graban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 236) “graben”; OFs. *-greve* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 236) “graben”; OE *grafan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 159) “to dig (up); engrave, carve, chisel”; ON *grafa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 236) “graben, schnitzen, nagen, stechen”; Gothic *graban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 236) “graben”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

graden “abstufen, ebnen” (Raven I 1963: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *grad* (Starck and Wells 1990: 237) “Stufe, Grad, Rang” < Latin *gradus* (Kluge 1989: 273) “step, stage, degree, rank”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

granōn “grunzen” (Raven II 1967: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **granōjan* class II deverbative (with shortened medial 'n') from strong verb **grennanan* (Seebold 1970: 240) “Zähne fletschen” (see under *grennōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

grasōn “Gemüse pflanzen, mit Kräutern bepflanzen, weiden” (Raven II 1967: 56). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *grasian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “to graze”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **grasōjan* “to graze”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gras* (Starck and Wells 1990: 237) “Gras”; OS *gras* (Kluge 1989: 275) “Gras”; OE *græs* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 159) “grass”; ON *gras* (Kluge 1989: 275) “Gras”; Gothic *gras* (Kluge 1989: 275) “grass”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **grasan* (Kluge 1989: 275) “Gras, Kraut”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

grāwēn “ergrauen, weißgrau sein oder werden, die graue Farbe der Ölbäume, (vom Weidengebüsch =) grau schillerend, (vom Gras frühmorgens =) vom Frost bereift” (Raven II 1967: 219). The following cognate verbs are attested: None.

The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *grāo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 237) “grau, lichtgrau”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

grāwōn “grau sein, weißlich sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 238). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *grāwēn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

greifōn “tasten, betasten, suchen, greifen” (Raven II 1967: 57). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *grāpian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “to feel for, lay hold of, seize, touch; attain, reach”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **grāipōjan* (Seebold 1970: 237) class II deverbative from strong verb **greipanan* (Seebold 1970: 237) “greifen” (see under *gripsen*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

gremizzōn “brummen, murren, laute Vorwürfe jemandem machen, sich beschweren, mit den Zähnen knirschen, wüten, zürnen” (Raven II 1967: 57). No cognate verbs are attested. Gemination and umlaut indicate that this verb is probably from an earlier class I **gramatjan* “to enrage”, intensive deverbative from Gmc class I weak verb **gramijanan* “to enrage”: OE *gremman* (Lehmann 1986: 159) “to enrage, provoke, irritate; revile”; ON *gremja* (Lehmann 1986: 159). Gothic *gramjan* (Lehmann 1986: 159) “to provoke, anger”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

gremmen “zornig, unmutig oder grimmig machen, aufregen, reizen, erbittern, sich grämen, verwildern” (Raven 1963: 298). The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu *gremmen* (de Vries 1962: 187) “zornig sein, brüllen”; OE *gremman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “to enrage, provoke, irritate, revile”; ON *gremja* I (Zoëga 1910: 172) “erzürnen”; Gothic *gramjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 159) “to provoke, anger”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **gramijanan* “to make angry, enrage, provoke, irritate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gram* (Kluge 1989: 274) “gram, böse”; OS *gram* (Kluge 1989: 274) “feindselig”; OE *gram* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 159) “angry, cruel, fierce, oppressive, hostile”; ON *gramr* (Kluge 1989: 274) “zornig, feindlich”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **gramaz* (Kluge 1989: 274) “fierce, angry, cruel”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *in-*, *ir-*

grennōn “winseln, mucksen, mucken, ein Knurren hören lassen” (Seebold 1970: 241). cf. OHG *granōn* II (Raven II 1967: 56). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *grennian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “to grin, gnash the teeth”; ON *grenja* II (Seebold 1970: 241) “heulen”; OSwed. *grānia* II (Seebold 1970: 241) “to roar, gnash the teeth”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **granjōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 241) “to roar, gnash the teeth, open the mouth”, class II deverbative from strong verb **grennanan* (Seebold 1970: 240) “Zähne fletschen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: MHG *grinnen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 240) “Zähne fletschen”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

grimmen “wüten, umhertoben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 237). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *grimman* I (de Vries 1962: 189) “wüten”; OE *grimman* I (de Vries 1962: 189) “to rage, roar, make a loud noise”; ON *grimmast* reflexive development secondary (de Vries 1962: 189) “zornig werden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **gremmijanan* “to be wild, rage”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *grim*, *grimmi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 239) “grausam, grimmig, wild”; OS *grim* (Kluge 1989: 278) “grausam, grimmig, wild”; OFs. *grimm* (Kluge 1989: 278) “grausam, grimmig, wild”; OE *grim*, *grimm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “sharp, bitter, severe, fierce, dire, savage, cruel, grim, horrible”; ON *grimmr* (Kluge 1989: 278) “zornig, grimmig; grausam”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **gremmaz* (Kluge 1989: 278) “grimmig”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

***grimezzen** “erbittern, empören, wild machen, verwildern”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *grimetan*, *gremettan* “to rage, roar, make a loud noise”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **gremmatjan* “to enrage, make wild”, intensive deverbative from NWGmc class I weak verb **gremmijanan* “to be wild, rage” (see under *grimmen*). Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

grimmigen “wild angreifen, toben” (Raven I 1963: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *grimmig* (Starck and Wells 1990: 240) “grausam, grimmig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

grimmisōn “wüten, heftig toben, den Zorn auslassen” (Raven II 1967: 57). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *grimsian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “to rage”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **gremmisōjan* “to rage”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *grimmen*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

gripfen, kripfen “zerstören, zerreißen, verheeren, plündern” (Raven I 1963: 97). cf. OHG *greifōn* II. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **grippjan* intensive gemination? zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **greipanan* (Seebold 1970: 237) “greifen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *grīfan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 237) “greifen, berühren”; OS *grīpan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 237) “greifen, berühren”; OFs. *grīpa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 237) “ergreifen, fassen”; OE *grīpan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 161) “to seek to get hold of, assail, attack; seize, snatch, take, apprehend”; ON *grīpa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 237) “greifen, ergreifen”; Gothic *greipan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 237) “greifen, ergreifen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *untar-*

gris-gramōn “murren, vor Grimm oder Unmut mit den Zähnen knirschen” (Raven II 1967: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. the derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is possibly an ablaut variant of *gris(t)grimmōn* II, or a deadjectival formation from OHG *gram* (Kluge 1989: 274) “gram, böse”, in expressive combination with *gris(t)* (see under *gris(t)grimmen*). Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

gris-grimmen “murren, mit den Zähnen knirschen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 241). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably best seen as a deadjectival from OHG *grim* (Kluge 1989: 278) “grausam, grimmig, wild”, in expressive combination with *gris(t)* which occurs only only in compounded form in OHG, but which is attested in OE *grīst* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 161) “action of grinding”. Compare the similar combination in OE *gristbite* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 161) “gnashing” and OE *grīstbitian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 161) “to gnash the teeth, rage”. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

gris-grimmōn, *grist-grimmōn* “aus Wut mit den Zähnen knirschen, wütend zerschmettern” (Raven II 1967: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably best seen as a deadjectival from OHG *grim* (see under *gris-grimmen*). Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

grōzzēn “fett, groß oder dick werden, aufschwellen” (Raven II 1967: 219). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *grēatian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “to become enlarged”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **grautējan* “to be or become large”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *grōz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 241) “groß, grob”; OS *grōt* (Kluge 1989: 279) “groß”; OFs. *grāt* (Kluge 1989: 279) “groß”; OE *grēat* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “great, tall, thick, stout, massive, coarse”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **grautaz* (Kluge 1989: 279) “groß”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

grubilōn “grübeln, ergründen, zu erforschen suchen, durchstöbern, nachforschen, mit der Hacke graben” (Raven II 1967: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **grubilōjan* (Seebold 1970: 236) class II frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with irregular ablaut) from strong verb **grabanan* (Seebold 1970: 236) “graben” (see under *grabōn*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative formation (formed with l-extension).

gruen, *grōen* “grün sein, kräftig sein, grünen, blühen” (Raven I 1963: 60). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *grōja* I (Seebold 1970: 242) “grünen, sprießen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **grōjan* (Seebold 1970: 242) class I weak deverbative from strong verb **grōanan* (Seebold 1970: 242) “wachsen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *grōwan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 161) “to grow, increase, flourish; germinate; spring, sprout”; ON *gróa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 242) “wachsen, grünen, keimen, heilen, bewachsen; zusammenwachsen, verwachsen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

grūēn “grauen” (Raven II 1967: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **grūējan* “grauen, schaudern, fürchten”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. It possibly ultimately derives from an IE $\sqrt{*ghrēu-}$, **ghrū-* (Pfeifer I 1989: 598) “scharf darüber reiben, zerreiben, zermalmen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *grūsōn* s-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 461) “schrecklich empfinden”. The semantic connection of *grūēn* to this root is more transparent in the 'd'-extension **ghrēu-d-* (Pokorny I 1959: 461), attested forms of which include: Lith. *grūsti* (Pfeifer I 1989: 598) “stampfen, zerstoßen, wehmütig, traurig gestimmt werden, sich grämen”; OCS *grudu* (Kluge 1957: 268) “schauderhaft”; Russian *grustit'* (Pfeifer I 1989: 598) “traurig sein”. Despite the fact that the verb is not attested in the Gmc languages outside OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a possible pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*

grunden “ergründen” (Raven I 1963: 60). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *grundian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 242) “ergründen, erforschen”; OE *gryndan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 162) “to found (a house); set, sink (of the sun)”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **grundijan* “to found, ground; go to the ground, descend”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *grunt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 242) “Grund, Boden, Vertiefung”; OS *grund* (Kluge 1989: 280) “Grund, Boden”; OFs. *grund* (Kluge 1989: 280). OE *grund* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 161) “ground, bottom; foundation; abyss, hell; plain, country, land, earth; sea, water”; ON *grunnr* (Kluge 1989: 280) “the bottom (of the sea or water)”; Gothic *grundu-waddjus* (Lehmann 1986: 161) “foundation”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **grunduz* (Kluge 1989: 280) “ground, floor, bottom”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

grunnizōn “das Grunzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 241). No cognate verbs are attested. Gemination indicates that this verb is probably a class II deverbative from earlier NWGmc class I **grunnatjanan* “to grunt” (see under *grunzen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

grunt-forscōn “schroff, genau, bedenklich, verlegen, gefährlich” (Raven II 1967: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *grunt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 242) “Grund, Boden, Vertiefung”; cf. OHG *forscōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 174) “erfragen, erforschen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

grunt-sellōn “fest begründen, befestigen” (Raven II 1967: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

grunzen, *grunezzēn* “grollen, grunzen, murren” (Raven I 1963: 60). cf. OHG *grunnizōn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *grunnetan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 161) “to grunt”; Dan. *grynte* (Pfeifer I 1989: 615) “to grunt”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **grunnatjanan* “to grunt”, intensive deverbative from a weak verb **grunnjanan* represented by OE *grunian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 161) “to grunt; chew the cud”, and early NHG *grunnen* (Pfeifer I 1989: 615) “grunzen”. Therefore a NWGmc intensive deverbative. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

gruonēn “grünen, blühen, emporblühen, florieren, wachsen, wiederbeleben, (vom Blumenkranz) mit Blüten prangen oder strahlen” (Raven II 1967: 220). cf. OHG *gruoen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 242). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *grēnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “to become green, flourish”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **grōnējan* “to be or become green”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gruoni* (Starck and Wells 1990: 242) “grün, frisch”; OS *grōni* (Kluge 1989: 280) “grün”; OFs. *grēne* (Kluge 1989: 280) “grün”; OE *grēne* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “green, young, immature, raw, living, growing”; ON *grænn* (Kluge 1989: 280) “grün”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **grōniz* (Kluge 1989: 280) “grün”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

gruozēn “anreden, anflehen, (in feindlicher Absicht) antreiben, hetzen, rufen, berühren, grüßen” (Raven I 1963: 61). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *grōtian* I (Seebold 1970: 241) “zurufen, anrufen”; OFs. *grēta* I (Seebold 1970: 241) “anklagen”; OE *grētan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 160) “to approach, come to, visit, touch, attack, treat or use in any way, know carnally; speak to, hail, call upon, greet, welcome, salute, take care of, bid farewell to”; ON *græta* I (Seebold 1970: 241) “zum Weinen bringen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **grōtejanan* (Seebold 1970: 241) “to cause to cry or shout, complain, attack”, causative deverbative from strong verb **grētan* (Seebold 1970: 241) “weinen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OS *griat* preterite sg. only (Seebold 1970: 241) “weinte”; ON *gráta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 241) “weinen, beweinen”; Gothic *gretan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 241) “weinen, klagen”. The WGmc development of meaning which took place in the following stages: “to make someone cry by leaving > to leave, take one's leave of > to hail when leaving > to hail or greet in general”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *duruh-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

guckōn “Kuckuck rufen” (Raven II 1967: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **gukkōjan* expressive gemination “Kuckuck rufen”. The precise etymology and derivational pattern of this verb are uncertain. It is probably of imitative origin, or may possibly represent an ablaut zero-grade denominative from the nominal base attested in the

following: OHG *gouch* (Kluge 1989: 247) “Kuckuck, Gauch”; OS *gōk* (Kluge 1989: 247) “Kuckuck, Gauch”; OE *gāc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 149) “cuckoo”; ON *gaukr* (Kluge 1989: 247) “Kuckuck”; Run.Norse *gaukaR* (Kluge 1989: 247) “Kuckuck”; NWGmc **gaukaz* (Kluge 1989: 247) “Kuckuck”: Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

guollīhhēn, guotlīhhēn “verherrlichen, rühmen, preisen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 244). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under **guollīhhōn**. Therefore an OHG deadjectival / denominative verb.

guollīhhōn, guotlīhhōn “verherrlichen, rühmen, mächtig sein” (Raven II 1967: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *guollīh*, *guotlīh* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 244) “herrlich, ruhmvoll”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

guotīsōn “etwas vermögen, mächtig sein” (Raven II 1967: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *guot* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 244) “gut, gerecht; heilig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

guotspellōn “verkündigen; evangelizare, nuntiare” (Raven II 1967: 59). Loan verb from OE *godspellian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 158) “to preach the gospel, evangelize”. This is an OE denominative verb from OE *godspel* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 158) gospel, glad tidings”. This in turn an OE loan translation for Latin *bona annuntatio*, *bonus nuntius* (Onions 1966: 407), literal rendering of Latin *evangelium* (Onions 1966: 407). The Latin is, in turn, derived from Greek *εὐαγγέλιον* (Onions 1966: 407) “good news: gospel”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

gurgilōn “sich gurgeln, einen gurgelnden Ton hervorbringen, brüllen” (Raven II 1967: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *gurgula* (Starck and Wells 1990: 244) “Gurgel, Luftröhre, Kehle” < Latin *gurgulio* (Kluge 1989: 283) “Luftröhre”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

gurten “gürten, begürten” (Raven I 1963: 62). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *un-e-gert* (Kluge 1989: 282) “ungegürtet”; OE *gyrdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 163) “to gird, bind round”; ON *gyrða* I (Kluge 1989: 282) “gürten, klemmen, peitschen, prügeln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **gurdjanan* (Seebold 1970: 225) “gürten”, class I zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **gerdanan* (Seebold 1970: 225) “gürten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: Gothic *bi-gairdan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 225) “to gird about”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *furi-*, *int-*, *umbi-*, *umbi-bi-*

guzen “beim Opfern ausgießen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 245). cf. OHG *ubar-guzōn* II (Raven II 1967: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. Although attested here as a class I verb, it is attested as class II in the prefix formation *ubar-gūzōn* and has zero ablaut grade (a common ablaut grade in class II deverbatives) which indicates that it probably originally belonged to class II. Thus we can reconstruct a possible **gutōjan* class II deverbative (formed with with zero-grade ablaut) from strong verb **geutanan* (Seebold 1970: 228) “gießen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *giozan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 228) “gießen”; OS *giotan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 228) “vergießen”; OFs. *be-jāta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 228) “begießen, benetzen”; OE *gēotan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 153) “to pour, pour forth, shed; gush, flow, flood, overwhelm; found, cast”; ON *gióta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 228) “Junge werfen, laichen (Katze, Hund, Fuchs, Maus, Fisch); mit den Augen rollen”; Gothic *giutan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 228) “gießen (Wein in Schläuche)”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

H

habalōn “Milch geben, (übtr.) mit etwas reichlich versehen sein” (Raven II 1967: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **habalōjan* class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from Gmc class III weak verb **habējanan* (Seebold 1970: 244) “haben, besitzen” (see under *habēn*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

haben “haben, inne haben, be-, festhalten, in Schranken halten, besitzen, tragen, hegen, bekommen, brauchen, behaupten, müssen, halten für, meinen, betrachten, begehren, schätzen, zeugen, beurteilen, verachten, verspotten” (Raven I 1963: 299). As cognate forms in related Gmc languages belong to class III, this verb is probably best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class III weak verb *habēn* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *fir-*, *folla-*, *gi-*, *ingagan-*, *inni-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *missi-*, *samant-*, *ūf-*, *umbi-*, *zisamene-*, *zisamene-folla-*

habēn “viel, genug, wenig, gewiß, recht, lieb, inne haben; Mann, Frau, Kind, Brüderschaft, Sippschaft, Freund, Feind, Kleinvieh, Freude, Furcht, Schuld, Geduld, Not, Schaden, Sorge, Gnade, Glauben, Trost, Schutz, Kraft, Haß, den Teufel (= besessen sein), Lohn Erlaubnis, Hunger, Jugend, Schönheit, Haare, Fleisch und Gebein, Kleidung, Krankheit, Fieber, Feuchte, Wasser im Bauch (=wassersüchtig?), weiße Flecken im Auge, die wie Glas aussehen, Augenlicht und so weiter haben; erfassen, ergreifen, sich befinden, besitzen, bewahren, halten, beibehalten, fest-, stillhalten, sich halten an, in Schranken halten, lieben, der Besitz der Häscher” (Raven II 1967: 220). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hebbian* III (Kluge 1989: 284) “haben, besitzen”; OFs. *habba*, *hebbe* III (Kluge 1989: 284) “haben, besitzen”; OE *habban* III (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 164) “to have, possess, own, hold; keep, retain; cherish, look after; esteem, consider”; ON *hafa* III (Kluge 1989: 284) “haben; anwenden; ergreifen, treffen”; Gothic *haban* III (Kluge 1989: 284) “to have, hold, be”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **habējanan* (Kluge 1989: 284) “haben”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. The most convincing etymology is that it is a durative deverbative from the strong verb **hafjanan* (Kluge 1989: 284) “heben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *heven*, *heffen* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 298) “heben”; OS *hebbian* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 298) “heben”; OFs. *hebbā* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 298) “heben”; OE *hebban* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 175) “to heave, raise, lift, lift up, exalt”; ON *hefja* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 298) “heben”; Gothic *hafjan* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 298) “to lift”. Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *missi-*, *ubar-*, *ūf-*, *umbi-*, *umbi-bi-*, *untar-*, *widar-*

haftēn “haften, festhängen, festhangen, befestigt sein, stehenbleiben, (+dat. vel praep.) festhalten, hängen an, haben, innewohnen, stecken, verstrickt sein, abhängig sein von, verbunden sein mit, für einen von Belang sein, (+acc. pers.) in der Gewalt liegen, einem daran gelegen sein, nützen, unbeweglich” (Raven II 1967: 223). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *haftōn* II (Kluge 1989: 286). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **haftējan* “haften”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *heften*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *gi-*, *zisamane-*, *zuo-*

hahsenen “die Fußsehne durchschneiden, Sehnen abschneiden, abhauen, trennen, entnerven, lähmen, schwächen” (Raven I 1963: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hahsina*, *hahsna* (Starck and Wells 1990: 248) “Hachse, Fußsehne”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*, *ir-*, *untar-*

hāhsinōn “die Fußsehne abschneiden, die Beinsehnen durchschneiden” (Raven II 1967: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *hahsenen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

hackōn “hacken, mit der Hacke arbeiten, mit der Axt zerkleinern” (Pfeifer II 1989: 624). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *hakken* (Pfeifer II 1989: 624) “hacken”; MDu. *hacken* (Pfeifer II 1989: 624) “hacken”; OE *tō-haccian* II (Kluge 1989: 285) “to hack to pieces”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hakkōjan* intensive gemination (Kluge 1989: 285) “hacken, mit einem hakenförmigen oder gekrümmten Werkzeug bearbeiten”. cf. OFs. *hakia* II without gemination (Kluge 1989: 285). The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *hecken*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

haldēn “sich neigen, (sterbend) zusammensinken, (vom Gelände) schräg oder schroff abfallen, sich schief erstrecken, abhängig sein, wanken, wenden” (Raven II 1967: 224). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *helden*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *in-*, *nidar-*, *zuo-*

haldōn “sich neigen, sich niedersinken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 249). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *halla* II with assimilation of *ð* (de Vries 1962: 205) “neigen, sinken lassen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **halþōjanan* “to bend, make bent”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *helden*). Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

halōn “erwerben und an sich nehmen, durch Rufen erreichen, erlangen, bekommen, zu sich rufen, berufen, herbeibringen, (herbei)holen, verschaffen, einladen, sich eines Menschen annehmen, retten, heiraten, kaufen, erschöpfen” (Raven II 1967: 60). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *halōn*, *halōian* II (Kluge 1989: 314). OFs. *halia* II (Kluge 1989: 314). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **halōjan* (Kluge 1989: 314) “holen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*klā}$, **kalā-* (Kluge 1989: 314) “rufen, herbeirufen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *usākala-* (Kluge 1989: 314) “Hahn”; Greek *καλέω* (Kluge 1989: 314) “ich rufe”; Latin *calāre* (Kluge 1989: 314) “rufen”; OIr. *cailech* (Kluge 1989: 314) “Hahn”; Hittite *kalleš-* (Kluge 1989: 314). Possibly Latvian *kaluōt* (Kluge 1989: 314) “schwätzen”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *īz-gi-*, *widar-gi-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

halsen, *helsen* “umarmen, umschlingen, umhalsen” (Raven I 1963: 63). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *helsian* I (Kluge 1989: 289) “halsen, umarmen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **halsijan* “halsen, umarmen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hals* (Starck and Wells 1990: 250) “Hals, Nacken”; OS *hals-* (Kluge 1989: 289) “Hals”; OFs. *hals* (Kluge 1989: 289) “Hals”; OE *heals* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 173) “neck; prow of a ship”; ON *hals* (Kluge 1989: 289) “Hals; Vorderteil des Schiffes”; Gothic *hals* (Kluge 1989: 289) “neck”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **halsaz* (Kluge 1989: 289) “Hals”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*, *umbi-*, *umbi-bi-*, *zisamene-*

halsēn “umhalsen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 251). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *halsen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

halsōn “umhalsen” (Raven II 1967: 61). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *halsa* II, loan verb from LG? (Kluge 1989: 289) “umarmen, Segel beinehmen”, which allows us to

reconstruct a NWGmc **halsōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 289) “halsen, umarmen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *halsen*). Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *int-*

hals-slagōn “ohrfeigen” (Raven II 1967: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *hals* (Starck and Wells 1990: 250) “Hals, Nacken”; cf. OHG *slagōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 555) “zusammenschlagen, klatschen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hals-slegilōn “ohrfeigen, mit den Fäusten schlagen” (Raven II 1967: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: An OHG **hals-slegil* “Ohrfeige” can possibly be reconstructed from: OHG *hals* (Starck and Wells 1990: 250) “Hals, Nacken”; OHG *slegil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 556) “Klöppel, Klotz, Dreschflegel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

hals-werfōn “(den Hals = den Kopf) schütteln” (Raven II 1967: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *hals* (Starck and Wells 1990: 250) “Hals, Nacken”; cf. OHG *werfōn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 716) “drehen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hamalōn “schlachten, niedermetzeln” (Raven II 1967: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hamal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 252) “verstümmelt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

hamar-slagōn “schlagen, schmieden, recken” (Raven II 1967: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *hamar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 252) “Hammer”; cf. OHG *slagōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 555) “zusammenschlagen, klatschen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hangēn “hängen, (am Kreuz) hangen, (her)abhängen, festhalten, (von einem Erlaß) veröffentlicht werden, schweben, abhängig sein” (Raven II 1967: 225). cf. OHG *hengen* I (Raven I 1963: 68). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hangōn* II (Seebold 1970: 250) “hängen”; OFs. *hangia* II (Seebold 1970: 250) “hängen”; OE *hangian* II (Seebold 1970: 250) “(intrs.) to hang, be hanged; depend, rest on”; ON *hanga* mit dem starken Verb vermischt (Seebold 1970: 250) “hängen”; Gothic *hahan* III mit Beseitigung des grammatischen Wechsels (Seebold 1970: 250) “to cling to”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hangējanan* (Seebold 1970: 250) “to hang, be hanging”, class III durative deverbative from the reduplicating verb **hanhanan* (Seebold 1970: 249) “hängen” (see under *hengen*). Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*, *ir-*, *nidar-*, *ūz-gi-*

hantalōn “berühren, betasten, Hand legen an, behandeln, mit den Händen erfassen” (Raven II 1967: 62). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *handlōn* II (Kluge 1989: 291). OFs. *handelia*, *hondelia* II (Kluge 1989: 291). OE *handlian* II (Kluge 1989: 291) “to handle, feel; deal with, discuss”; ON *handla*, *hondla* II (Kluge 1989: 291) “greifen, ergreifen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **handlōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 291) “greifen, ergreifen, befühlen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hant* (Starck and Wells 1990: 253) “Hand”; OS *hand* (Kluge 1989: 290) “Hand”; OFs. *hand* (Kluge 1989: 290) “Hand”; OE *hand*, *hond* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 168) “hand”; ON *hond* (Kluge 1989: 290) “Hand”; Gothic *handus* (Kluge 1989: 290) “hand”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **handuz* fem. (Kluge 1989: 290) “Hand”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb (formed with l-extension).

hant-slagōn “mit der Hand schlagen, klatschen, mit dem Tode ringen” (Raven II 1967: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *hant* (Kluge 1989: 290) “Hand”; cf. OHG *slagōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 555) “zusammenschlagen, klatschen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

harēn, herēn “(+dat. pers.) anflehen, heulen, laut rufen oder klagen, zurufen, jubeln, schreien, Geschrei” (Raven II 1967: 226). cf. OHG *ant-harōn* II (de Vries 1962: 224) “nachahmen”. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hazējan* “to be singing the praises of”; cf. Gothic *hazjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 181) “to praise, sing the praises of”; cf. OE *herian* II umlaut? may indicate origin in class I (Lehmann 1986: 181) “to extol, praise, commend”. No convincing etymology, though possibly from class I as indicated by the variant *herēn* (with umlaut?).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *ir-*, *furi-*

harmen “tadeln, schelten, züchtigen” (Raven I 1963: 64). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *hermen* (de Vries 1962: 224). ON *hermast* I, reflex development secondary (de Vries 1962: 224) “sich härmen”; cf. OE *hearmian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “to hurt, harm, injure”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **harmijanan* “to harm, injure”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *harm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 256) “Leid, Schmerz, Kummer; Unglück; Schmach, Beleidigung, Unrecht”; OS *harm* (Kluge 1989: 294) “Leid, Schmerz”; OFs. *herm* (Kluge 1989: 294) “Kränkung, Schmerz”; OE *hearm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “harm, hurt, injury, evil, grief, affliction, pain, injurious speech, calumny, insult”; ON *harmr* (Kluge 1989: 294) “Betrübnis, Kummer”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **harmaz* (Kluge 1989: 294) “Harm”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

harmēn “plagen, trügerisch anklagen, verleumden, schelten” (Raven II 1967: 227). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hearmian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “to hurt, harm, injure”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **harmējan* “to harm, be injurious to”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *harmen*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

harmisōn “schmähen” (Raven II 1967: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *harm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 256) “Leid, Unglück, Beleidigung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with s-extension).

harmquetōn “schmähen, verunglimpfen” (Raven II 1967: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *harmquiti* (Starck and Wells 1990: 256) “Beleidigung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

harmscarōn “auf beschimpfend qualvolle Weise bestrafen” (Raven II 1967: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *harmscara* (Starck and Wells 1990: 256) “Heimsuchung, Strafe, Zerknirschung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

hartēn “beharren, (ver)bleiben, einem wovon übel werden” (Raven II 1967: 227). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *heardian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “to be or become hard”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **harðējan* “to be or become hard”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *herten*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *furi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

hasanōn “glatt schneiden, verfeinern, mit der Axt bearbeiten, bauen” (Raven II 1967: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hasan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 259) “poliert, fein”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

hazzen “hassen, neidisch sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. As this verb lacks umlaut, and as cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class II or III verb, this verb is probably best regarded as a class I deverbative from class III weak verb *hazzēn*, or class II weak verb *hazzōn*. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

hazzēn “(+acc.) sich ereifern, sich entrüsten, neidisch sein, verfolgen, auf den Tod hassen, d.h. morden, hassen, einem feindlich gesinnt sein” (Raven II 1967: 227). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hatōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 260) “hassen”; OFs. *hatia* II (de Vries 1962: 213) “hassen”; OE *hatian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 170) “to hate, treat as an enemy”; ON *hata* II (de Vries 1962: 213) “hassen”; Gothic *hatan* III (Lehmann 1986: 178) “to hate”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hatējanan* “to hate, hold in contempt”. The geminated ‘z’ in the OHG verb is probably due to the influence of the class I verb. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under **hezzen*). Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *ir-*

hazzōn “hassen, eifersüchtig sein” (Raven II 1967: 64). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hatōn* II originally III? (Starck and Wells 1990: 260) “haßen”; OFs. *hatia* II originally III? (de Vries 1962: 213) “haßen”; OE *hatian* II originally III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 170) “to hate, treat as an enemy”; ON *hata* II originally III? (de Vries 1962: 213) “hassen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hatōjanan* “to hate, hold in contempt”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under **hezzen*). Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

hebinōn “bewirten, als Gast aufnehmen, freundlich behandeln oder beherbergen, halten” (Raven II 1967: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **habinōjan* class II deverbative (formed with n-extension) from strong verb **haffjanan* (Seebold 1970: 244) “heben” (see under *habēn*). The change of ‘a’ to ‘e’ here is probably umlaut occurring on analogy with the umlaut of class I verbs. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with n-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*

heften “heften, fest machen, fesseln, besiegen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 260). cf. OHG *haftēn* III (Raven II 1967: 223). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *heftian* (Pfeifer II 1989: 662) “to bind, fetter”; OFs. *hefta* (Pfeifer II 1989: 662) “heften”; OE *hæftian* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 662) “to seize, bind, arrest, make captive, imprison”; ON *hepta*, *hefta* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 662). Gothic *hafijan* I (Lehmann 1986: 168) “sich anheften”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **haftijanan* “haften”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *haft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 247) “gebunden, gefangen, schwanger”; OS *haft* (Kluge 1989: 286) “behaftet, gefangen”; Gothic *hafits* (Pfeifer II 1989: 627) “behaftet”; cf. OE *hæft* adjectival subst. (Kluge 1989: 286) “Gefangener”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **haftaz* (Kluge 1989: 286) “behaftet, gefangen”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ana-gi-*, *ana-zi-*, *bi-*, *furi-*, *furi-gi-*, *gi-*, *hina-*, *in-bi-*, *in-gi-*, *int-*, *zisamene-*, *zisamene-gi-*, *zisamene-zi-*

**heggen* “umzäunen, mit einem Hag umgeben; wachsen, pflanzen, aufziehen, hegen, schützen, pflegen”. MHG *hegen* (Pfeifer II 1989: 663) “mit einem Hag umgeben, umzäunen, die Gerichtsstätte abschließen, um Gericht zu halten, pflegen, bewahren, aufbewahren, (reflex.) sich versammeln”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *hēgen* (Pfeifer II 1989: 663) “umzäunen, schützen, bewahren, feierliche Gericht halten, pflegen”; cf. OE *hegian* II, umlaut indicates probable origin in class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 176) “to fence in, hedge, enclose”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hagijan* “to surround with a hedge, enclose, (hence) protect, conserve”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hag*, *hac* (Kluge 1989: 286) “Umzäunung, Schanze”; OS *hago*, *hag* n-stem (Kluge 1989: 286)

“Weideplatz”; OE *haga* n-stem (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 166) “hedge, enclosure, curtilage; fortified enclosure; homestead, house”; ON *hagi* n-stem (Kluge 1989: 286) Weideplatz, eingehegtes landstück”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hagaz*, **hagōn* masc. (Kluge 1989: 286) “Umzäunung (umzäuntes Grundstück, Weideplatz, Hecke)”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *umbi-bi-*, *untar-*

**heien* “wachsen, gediehen; pflanzen, aufziehen, hegen, schützen, pflegen”. MHG *heien*, *heigen* (Lexer I 1872: 1209) “wachsen, gediehen; pflanzen, aufziehen, hegen, schützen, pflegen”. No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *heie*, *hei* (Lexer I 1872: 1209) “Hegung, gehegter Wald”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

heien “günstig gestimmt oder gewogen sein, heftig oder dringend beschützen, in Obhut nehmen, mit Leidenschaft lieben, eifersüchtig sein” (Raven II 1967: 228). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb may be derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hei* (Starck and Wells 1990: 261) “Hitze, Brennen”. It may also represent a loan translation from ecclesiastical Latin *zēlare* (Lewis and Short 1966: 2018) “to love with zeal or ardently” which derives from the substantive *zēlus* (Lewis and Short 1966: 2018) “zeal, emulation, jealousy”. This verb may originally have had the meaning “to become heated” (compare prefix formations below) but the meaning has probably been extended under the influence of the Latin verb. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *ir-*

heilagōn “heiligen, segnen” (Raven II 1967: 64). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hēlagōn*, *hēlgōn* II (Schade I 1882: 380). OFs. *hēlgia* II (de Vries 1962: 221). OE *hālgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 167) “to hallow, sanctify; consecrate, dedicate, ordain”; ON *helga* II (de Vries 1962: 221) “heiligen, weihen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hailagōjanan* “to hallow, sanctify”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *heilīg*, *heilag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 263) “heilig, geweiht, fromm”; OS *hēlag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 263) “heilig, geweiht, fromm”; OFs. *hēlich* (de Vries 1962: 218) “heilig”; OE *hālig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 167) “holy, consecrated, sacred; venerated; godly, saintly; ecclesiastical; pacific, tame”; ON *heilagr* (de Vries 1962: 218) “heilig”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hailagaz* (de Vries 1962: 218) “heilig”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

heilen “gesund machen, heilen, retten, erlösen, heiligen” (Raven I 1963: 66). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hēlian* I (Kluge 1989: 300) “heilen”; OFs. *hēla* I (Kluge 1989: 300) “heilen”; OE *hēlan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 165) “to heal, make whole, cure, make safe, save”; ON *heila* I (Kluge 1989: 300) “heilen”; Gothic *hailjan* I (Kluge 1989: 300) “to heal”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hailijanan* (Kluge 1989: 300) “to heal, make well”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *heil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 262) “heil, ganz, gesund, unverletzt, glücklich”; OS *hēl* (Kluge 1989: 300) “heil, ganz, gesund”; OFs. *hāl* (Kluge 1989: 300) “heil, ganz, gesund”; OE *hāl* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 167) “whole, hale, well, in good health, sound, safe, without fraud, honest”; ON *heill* (Kluge 1989: 300) “heilvoll, unverletzt, vollständig”; Gothic *hails* (Kluge 1989: 300) “hale, healthy”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hailaz* (Kluge 1989: 300) “heil, ganz, gesund”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *folla-*, *gi-*

heilēn “heil oder gesund werden” (Raven II 1967: 228). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hāligan* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 167) “to heal up, get well; be saved”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hailējan* “to be or become well or healed”; cf. Gothic *ga-*

hailnan IV (Lehmann 1986: 169) “to be healed”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *heilen*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

heilezzen “kräftig machen, gesund machen, grüßen, begrüßen” (Raven I 1963: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hailatjan* intensive deverbative from weak verb **hailijanan* “to heal, .make well” (see under *heilen*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

heilisōn “Wahrsagerei oder Zauberei treiben, wahrsagen, prophezeien, sich hängen an (= eingeweiht werden), büßen, wachen” (Raven II 1967: 65). cf. OHG *heilen* I (Raven I 1963: 66). cf. OHG *heilēn* III (Raven II 1967: 228). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hālsian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 167) “to adjure”; ON *heilsa* II (de Vries 1962: 218) “heil wünschen, begrüßen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hailsōjanan* “to greet, hail; adjure; practice magic”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *heilen*). Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

heil-scouwōn “wahrsagen” (Raven II 1967: 65). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *heil* (Kluge 1989: 300) “heil, ganz, gesund”; cf. OHG *scouwōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 546) “schauen, besichtigen, bedenken”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

heim-fuoren “heimführen” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

heim-grasōn “(blühendes Gras) schneiden oder mähen” (Raven II 1967: 65). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

heim-īlen “heimeilen” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(*heim*)-*ladōn* “ins Haus rufen” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

heisēn “heiser sein” (Raven II 1967: 228). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hāsian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 169) “to be or become hoarse”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **haisējan* “to be or become hoarse”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *heis(ar)* (Kluge 1989: 302) “heiser, rauh”; OE *hās* (Kluge 1989: 302) “hoarse”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **haisaz* “hoarse”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

heitaren “klar oder hell sein oder machen, heiter machen” (Raven I 1963: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *heitar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 265) “heiter, hell, klar”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

heizen “lieben, anzünden, leidenschaftlich entzünden” (Raven I 1963: 67). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hætan* I (Kluge 1989: 303) “to heat, make hot”; ON *heita* I (Kluge 1989: 303) “heizen, heiß machen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **haitijanan* (Kluge 1989: 303) “heizen, heiß machen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *heiz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 265) “heiß, brennend, erhitzt”; OS *hǣ* (Kluge 1989: 302) “heiß”; OFs. *hét* (Kluge 1989: 302) “heiß”; OE *hāt* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 170) “hot, flaming; fervent, excited; intense, violent”; ON *heitr* (Kluge 1989: 302) “heiß”; cf. Gothic *heito* (Kluge 1989: 302) “Fieberhitze”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **haitaz* (Kluge 1989: 302) “heiß”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

heizēn “lodern, grollen, toben, eigentlich heiß sein oder werden” (Raven II 1967: 228). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hālian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 170) “to be or get hot”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **haitējan* “to be or become hot”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *heizen*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

hecken “stechen, beißen” (Raven I 1963: 67). cf. OHG *hackōn* II (Pfeifer II 1989: 624). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *of-hæccan* I (Kluge 1989: 285) “to hack to pieces”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hak(k)ijan* intensive gemination? (Kluge 1989: 285) “hacken, mit einem hakenförmigen oder gekrümmten Werkzeug bearbeiten”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hacko*, *hac* (Kluge 1989: 288) “Haken, Widerhaken”; OS *hako* (Kluge 1989: 288) “Haken”; OE *haca* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 164) “hook”; ON *haki* (Kluge 1989: 288) “Haken”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hakōn*, *hakkōn* “hook”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

helden “neigen, beugen, zum Sinken oder zu Falle bringen, abbiegen, abwenden, ablenken, ausweichen, (ver)meiden” (Raven I 1963: 68). cf. OHG *haldōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 249). cf. OHG *haldēn* III (Raven II 1967: 224). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *af-heldian* I (Schade I 1882: 366) “neigen, zu Ende kommen”; OE *hieldan*, *hyldan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 181) “to bend, lean, incline, slope, heel, tilt”; ON *heljast* I, with assimilation of *ð* (Fritzner I 1954: 785) “sich neigen, sinken lassen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **halþijanan* “to bend, make bent”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hald* (Starck and Wells 1990: 249) “geneigt, vorwärts geneigt, schräg”; OE *heald* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 173) “sloping, bent, inclined”; ON *hallr* assimilation of *ð* (de Vries 1962: 205) “schief, schräg, geneigt”; cf. Gothic *wilja-halþei* (Lehmann 1986: 403) “partiality”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **halþaz* (de Vries 1962: 205) “bent, inclined”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*, *nidar-*

hellen “verhehlen, hüllen” (Raven I 1963: 304). cf. OHG *hullen* I (Raven I 1963: 77). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-hellian* (Seebold 1970: 252) “verhüllen, einhüllen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **halejan* (Seebold 1970: 252), class I deverbative formation from strong verb **helanan* (Seebold 1970: 252) “verbergen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *helan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 252) “verbergen, verheimlichen”; OS *helan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 252) “verhehlen, verbergen”; OFs. *hela* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 252) “verhehlen”; OE *helan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 176) “to conceal, cover, hide”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *int-*, *umbi-*

helmōn, *gi-helmō* “behelmt” (Raven II 1967: 65). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *helmian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 177) “to cover, crown; provide with a helmet”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **helmōjan* “to provide with a helmet”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *helm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 267) “Helm, Sturmhaube”; OS *helm* (Kluge 1989: 304) “Helm, Sturmhaube”; OFs. *helm* (Kluge 1989: 304) “Helm”; OE *helm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 177) “protection, defence, covering; crown; helmet”; ON *hjalmr* (Kluge 1989: 304) “Helm, Gestell zum Aufbewahren des Hauses”; Gothic *hilms* (Kluge 1989: 304) “Helm”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **helmaz* (Kluge 1989: 304) “Helm”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

helzen “lähmen” (Schade I 1882: 368). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hieltan*, *ā-hyltan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 17) “to trip up”; ON *heltast* I reflexive development

secondary (de Vries 1962: 222) “lahm werden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **haltijanan* “to lame, make lame”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *halz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 252) “lahm, hinkend”; OS *halt* (Lehmann 1986: 175) “lame”; OFs. *halt* (Lehmann 1986: 175) “lame”; OE *healt* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 173) “lame, limping, halt”; ON *haltr* (Lehmann 1986: 175) “lahm”; Gothic *halts* (Lehmann 1986: 175) “lame”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **haltaz* (Onions: 425) “lame, limping, halt”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

hengen, henken “verhängen, gestatten, hängen, kreuzigen, an das Kreuz schlagen, folgen, leiden, zugeben, weichen” (Raven I 1963: 68). cf. OHG *hangēn* III (Raven II 1967: 225). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *hingia* (Seebold 1970: 250). ON *hengja* I (Seebold 1970: 250) “hängen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hangejanan* (Seebold 1970: 250), causative deverbative from the reduplicating verb **hanhanan* (Seebold 1970: 249) “hängen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *hāhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 249) “hangen, kreuzigen”; OS *hāhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 249) “hangen”; OFs. *huā* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 249) “hangen”; OE *hōn* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 189) “to hang, suspend, crucify”; ON *hanga* st. vb, hat sich mit dem schwachen Zustandsverb vermischt (Seebold 1970: 249) “hangen”; Gothic *hahan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 249) “to hang, keep in suspense”. It should be noted that *henken* is the South German form of *hengen*, this former becoming specialized later in the standard literature to “to hang (criminals on the gallows)”. In South Germany, however, it is still used with the meaning “to hang (up) an object”. For a similar development compare modern English “to hang (up), preterite *hung*” with “to hang (criminals on the gallows), preterite *hanged*”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-gi-*, *az-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *missi-*, *nidar-*, *ubar-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

hera-fuoren “sich herbegeben” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hera-gi-ilen “hereilen” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hera-hören “herhören” (Raven I 1963: 76). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hera-ilen “herkommen, kommen” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hera-kēren “umwenden, umdrehen, umkehren, verwandeln, verändern” (Raven I 1963: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hera-leiten “herführen, hinführen” (Raven I 1963: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(hera-)(h)losēn “aufmerksam zuhören” (Raven II 1967: 239). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hera-nider-wartēn “herabschauen” (Raven II 1967: 270). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hera-senten “herschicken” (Raven I 1963: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

herasun-ilen “hereilen” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(*herasun*)-*ladōn* “herbeirufen, herbeisenden” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(*herasun*)-*senten* “hierhersenden” (Raven I 1963: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(*hera*)-*wenten* “herwenden, herweisen” (Raven I 1963: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

[*hera*]-*zilōn* “(+gen reflex.) hereilen” (Raven II 1967: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hera-zuo-hōren “hören” (Raven I 1963: 76). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(*hera*)-*zuo-leggen* “hinzufigen” (Raven I 1963: 313). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hērōn “sich auszeichnen, sich erheben über, herrschen über” (Raven II 1967: 229). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hēr* (Kluge 1989: 299) “alt, ehrwürdig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *int-*

heribergōn “Feldlager abstecken, Lagerhütten aufschlagen, als Gast verweilen, sich lagern, beherbergen” (Raven II 1967: 65). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *herebeorgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 180) “to take up one's quarter's, lodge”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **harjabergōjan* “to take up one's quarter's, lodge”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *heriberga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 270) “Herberge, Quartier, Feldlager”; OS *heriberga* (Kluge 1989: 305) “Herberge, Quartier, Feldlager”; OE *herebeorg* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 180) “lodgings, quarters”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **harjabergō* “Herberge, Quartier, Feldlager”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

heriōn “verheeren, (ausplündern, mit Gewalt antasten, überschwemmen, zerstören, feindlich behandeln oder angreifen)” (Raven II 1967: 65). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *heriōn*, *herrōn* II (de Vries 1962: 223). OFs. *ur-heria* II (de Vries 1962: 223). OE *hergian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 180) “to ravage, plunder, lay waste, harry; seize, take, capture”; ON *herja* (de Vries 1962: 223) “verheeren, plündern; Krieg führen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **harjōjanan* “verheeren”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *heri* (Starck and Wells 1990: 269) “Heer, Streitmacht, Heeresabteilung”; OS *heri* (Kluge 1989: 299) “Heer”; OFs. *here* (de Vries 1962: 224) “Heer”; OE *here* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 179) “army, host, predatory band, troop, multitude”; ON *herr* (Kluge 1989: 299) “Heer; Menge, Volk”; Run. Swed. *harija* (de Vries 1962: 224). Run Dan *harja* (de Vries 1962: 224). Gothic *harjis* (Kluge 1989: 299) “army”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **harjaz* (Kluge 1989: 299) “Heer”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

hērisōn “herrschen” (Raven II 1967: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hēiro* (Pfeifer II 1989: 664) < **hēizo* comparative of OHG adj. *hēr* (Pfeifer II 1989: 683) “alt, ehrwürdig”. This verb would originally have had the meaning of “älter, ehrwürdiger sein” (Pfeifer II 1989: 683). However, it appears that it became

connected at an early stage with OHG *herrō* subst. (Kluge 1989: 306) “Heer”, possibly through popular etymology. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

hersten “dörren, braten, backen, rösten, versengen, von der Liebesglut entzünden, entflammen” (Raven I 1963: 69). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hierstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 182) “to fry, roast, scorch, pain”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **harstijan* “to fry, roast”; (cf. without umlaut MLG *harsten* (Pokorny I 1959: 584) “rösten”). The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *harst* (Starck and Wells 1990: 257) “Bratrost, Scheiterhaufen”; OS *harst* (Pokorny I 1959: 584) “Flechtwerk, Rost”; (cf. with different ablaut grade OE *hyrst* (Pokorny I 1959: 584) “wood, wooded eminence, hill, hillock”). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

herten “befestigen, verhärten, fest behaupten, reiben, abreiben, frottieren” (Raven I 1963: 70). cf. OHG *hartēn* III (Raven II 1967: 227). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-herdian* I (de Vries 1662: 223) “stärken”; OFs. *herda* I (de Vries 1662: 223) “erhärten, beweisen”; OE *hierdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 182) “to harden, make hard, strong or bold, to embolden, encourage, brace”; ON *herða* I (de Vries 1662: 223) “härten, drücken, spannen”; Gothic *ga-hardjan* I (de Vries 1662: 223) “verhärten”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **harðijanan* “to harden, make hard”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hart* (Starck and Wells 1990: 257) “hart, fest, rauh”; OFs. *herd* (Schade I 1882: 374) “hart”; OE *heard* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “hard, harsh, austere, severe, rigorous, stern, stubborn, firm, hardy, brave”; ON *harðr* (Kluge 1989: 294) “hart, stark”; Gothic *hardus* (Kluge 1989: 294) “stern, hard”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **harðuz* (Kluge 1989: 294) “hard”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

hertōn “abwechseln, schwanken, den einen oder den anderen Weg einschlagen, gehen, wiederholen, gemeinsam” (Raven II 1967: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *herta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 272) “Wechsel, Abwechslung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

heskezzēn “seufzen, röcheln” (Raven I 1963: 70). The following cognate verbs are attested: Intensive deverbative from a verb represented by MHG *heschen* (Starck and Wells 1990: 273) “schluchzen, gähnen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

***hezzen** “hetzen”. MHG *hetzen* (Kluge 1989: 307) “hetzen”. cf. OHG *hazzen* I; OHG *hazzōn* II; OHG *hazzēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hettiand* subst. present participle (Holthausen 1967: 33) “Feind”; OE *hettan* I (Kluge 1989: 307) “to chase, hunt, persecute”; Gothic *hatjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 178) “to hate”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hatijanan* “to chase, persecute”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *haz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 259) “Haß, Feindschaft”; OS *heti* (Onions 1966: 430) “Haß, Feindschaft”; OE *hete* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 181) “hate, envy, malice, hostility, persecution”; ON *hatr* (Kluge 1989: 296) “Haß”; Gothic *hatis* (Kluge 1989: 296) “hatred”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hatiz* neut. consonant-stem. “Haß”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

himilōn, gi-himilā “getäfelt (von Häusern und Zimmern), geschmückt (vom Ärmelkleid)” (Raven II 1967: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *himil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 275) “Himmel, Himmelgewölbe, Zimmerdecke”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

hina-fuoren “wegnehmen, dahinführen” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-gerōn “sehnen” (Raven II 1967: 53). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-heften “sich zugesellen, anschließen, anheften, anbinden” (Raven I 1963: 65). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hinana-ilen “von dannen eilen” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-langēn “(impers. +acc.) danach verlangen” (Raven II 1967: 233). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-leggen “(Pfand) anvertrauen, anvertrautes Gut beiseite legen, verpfänden” (Raven I 1963: 312). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-lengen “anbauen, hinzufügen” (Raven I 1963: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-muoēn “schmachten” (Raven I 1963: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-recken “aus-, vorwärtsstrecken; Setzlinge einschlagen (= mit Weinstöcken bepflanzen)” (Raven I 1963: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-rerten “wiedergeben, spiegeln” (Raven I 1963: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-sagen “zuschreiben, zuteilen” (Raven I 1963: No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(hina-)senten “hinsenden” (Raven I 1963: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-ūf-denken “schmecken, weise, verständig sein” (Starck and Wells 1990: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-ūf-gi-reihhen “sich erstrecken, hingelangen, reichen” (Raven I 1963: 149). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-wannōn “auswannen, auswurfeln, mit der Futterschwinge schwingen” (Raven II 1967: 173). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hina-wartēn “die Augen nach der entgegengesetzten Seite wenden” (Raven II 1967: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hintaren “jemandem betrügen oder hintergehen, etwas unterschlagen, beschweren, bedrängen, hemmen” (Raven I 1963: 70). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OE *hindrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 183) “to hinder, obstruct, keep back, repress”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hintaro* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 277) “hinter, letzt, geringer”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*

hintar-kēren “verdrehen, verschlechtern, entstellen, buhlen, beflecken, zum Ehebruch verführen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 327). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hintarot-bi-kēren “umstürzen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hintar-kōsōn “verleumden” (Raven II 1967: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hintar-skipfen “sperren, verzaunen, (übtr.) abschließen” (Raven I 1963: 182). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

hintar-screncōn “tergiversatio; Arglist” (Starck and Wells 1990: 277). cf. OHG *screnken* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 548). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II). Alternatively the verb may be a deadjectival formation from OHG *hintarscrenki* (Starck and Wells 1990: 277) “hinterlistig”, which may also explain the presence of umlaut in the verb.

hintar-sprehhōn “(Böses) gegen jemanden reden, sein Widersacher sein” (Raven II 1967: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hirmen “ruhen, schlafen, stillstehen, Frieden halten” (Raven I 1963: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. The etymology of this verb is unclear. It may possibly derive from an IE $\sqrt{*kerm-}$ (Pokorny I 1959: 582) “ermüden, rasten, schlafen”? From which base the following may also be derived: Lith. *kirmys-jū*, *kirmyti*, *kirmėti* (Pokorny I 1959: 582) “anfaulen, faul werden” (influenced by *kirmis* (Pokorny 1959: 582) “Wurm”).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

hīwen, *hīen* “heiraten, sich vermählen” (Raven I 1963: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OE *hīwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 184) “to marry”. Precise etymology obscure, but probably from a noun represented by the complex: OHG *hīwun*, *hīun* pl. (Starck and Wells 1990: 280) “Hausgesinde, Familie, Ehegatten, Familienangehörige”; OHG *hīwo*, *hīo* (Pfeifer II 1989: 669) “Hausgenosse, Familienangehöriger, Gatte”; OHG *hīwa*, *hīa* (Pfeifer II 1989: 669) “Gattin, Frau”; OFs. *hīuna* (Lehmann 1986: 181) “members of a household”; OE *hīwan* (Lehmann 1986: 181) “members of a family, household or religious house”; ON *hjú*, *hjún*, *hjón* (Pfeifer II 1989: 669) “Eheleute, Hausgenossen”; Gothic *heiwa-frauja* (Pfeifer II 1989: 669) “master of the house (as host to guests)”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-gi-*, *gi-*

hizzōn “lodern, wallen, heiß sein oder werden, anzünden” (Raven II 1967: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hizza* (Starck and Wells 1990: 280) “Hitze, Glut”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

hogēn, *hugēn* “(+gen.) (etwas) bedenken, beherzigen; bedacht sein” (Schützeichel 1969: 85). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *hugia* (de Vries 1962: 265) “denken”; OE *hogian* III (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 188) “to care for, think about, employ the mind, reflect, think, mind, consider, know, understand, care, be solicitous or anxious, to purpose, busy oneself with, strive, intend, be intent on, resolve, wish for”; ON *huga* III (de Vries 1962: 265) “überlegen, bedenken”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hugējanan* “to think, consider”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *huggen*). Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *fīr-*, *ir-*

hogezen “denken, überlegen” (Raven I 1963: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hugatjan* “denken, überlegen”, intensive deverbative from class I weak verb **hugijanan* “to think, consider, use one's mind” (see under *huggen*); or from class III weak verb **hugējanan* “to think, consider” (see under *hogēn*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

hōhen “erhöhen, vermehren” (Raven I 1963: 72). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hōhian* I (Lehmann 1986: 179). OFs. *héia* (Lehmann 1986: 179). OE *héan* I, with loss of medial 'h' (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “to raise, exalt, extol”; Gothic *hauhjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 179) “to magnify”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hauhijanan* “to raise, make high, elevate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hōh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 280) “hoch, erhaben”; OS *hōh* (Kluge 1989: 312) “hoch”; OFs. *hāch* (Kluge 1989: 312) “hoch”; OE *héah* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 171) “high, tall, lofty; high-class, exalted, sublime, illustrious, important; proud, haughty; deep”; ON *hár* (Kluge 1989: 312) “hoch”; Gothic *hauhs* (Kluge 1989: 312) “high”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hauhaz* (Kluge 1989: 312) “high”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *ūf-*

hōhsangōn “lobsingen, preisen” (Raven II 1967: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hōhsang* (Starck and Wells 1990: 281) “Lobgesang”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

*holōn*¹ “(aus)höhlen, den Boden scharren, Brunnen senken, perforieren, kerben” (Raven II 1967: 67). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *holian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 189) “to hollow out, scoop out”; ON *hola* II (de Vries 1962: 247) “aushölen”; Gothic *us-holon* II (Lehmann 1986: 383) “to hollow out”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hulōjanan* “to hollow out”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG, OS *hol* adj. (Kluge 1989: 313) “hohl”; OFs, OE *hol* adj. (Kluge 1989: 313) “hollow, concave; depressed”; ON *holr* adj. (Kluge 1989: 313) “hohl”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hulaz* adj. (Kluge 1989: 313) “hohl”; OHG *hol* subst. (Starck and Wells 1990: 282) “Höhle, Abgrund”; OE *hol* subst. (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 189) “hollow, place, cave, hole, den; perforation, aperture”; ON *hol* subst. (de Vries 1962: 247) “Höhle, Loch”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hulan* “hole”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival / denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *ūz-*

*holōn*² “erwerben und an sich nehmen, durch Rufen erreichen, erlangen, bekommen, zu sich rufen, berufen, herbeibringen, (herbei)holen, verschaffen, einladen, sich eines Menschen annehmen, retten, heiraten, kaufen, erschöpfen” (Raven II 1967: 60). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-holian* II (Kluge 1989: 314) “to obtain”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hulōjan* (Kluge 1989: 314) “holen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut zero-grade of IE $\sqrt{*klā-}$, **kalā-* (Kluge 1989: 314) “rufen, herbeirufen” (see under *halōn*). Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, the IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

hōnen “vertilgen, verschmähen, anschreien, verachtet machen, hinwegraffen, verbrauchen, verhöhnern” (Raven I 1963: 73). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hōnian* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 701) “höhnern”; OFs. *hēna* I (Kluge 1989: 314) “höhnern”; OE *hienan*, *hynan* I (Kluge 1989: 314) “to fell, prostrate; overcome; weaken, crush, afflict, injure, oppress; abase, humble, insult; accuse, condemn”; Gothic *haunjan* I (Kluge 1989: 314) “to abase”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **haunijanan* “to make low or humble, despise, oppress”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hōni* (Pfeifer II 1989: 700) “verachtet, niedrig”; OFs. *hāna* (Kluge 1989: 314) “accused”; OE *hēan* (Kluge 1989: 314) “lowly, despised, poor, mean, bare, abject”; Gothic *hauns* (Kluge 1989: 314) “humble”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hauniz* (Kluge 1989: 314) “lowly, despised”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

***hopfōn** “hüpfen, hopsen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: LG *hoppen* (Kluge 1989: 321) “hüpfen”; OE *hoppian* II (Kluge 1989: 321) “to hop, leap, dance”; ON *hoppa* II (Kluge 1989: 321) “hüpfen, tanzen”. Compare MHG *hupfen*, *hüpfen* (Kluge 1989: 321) “hüpfen”, which probably represents a class I deverbative formation from the earlier class II verb. We can therefore reconstruct a NWGmc **huppōjanan* intensive gemination “to hop leap”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. The intensive gemination exhibited by this verb points to it probably being an ablaut zero-grade intensive deverbative from an otherwise unattested verb which ultimately derives from IE **keub-*, **kūb-* (see under **hupfen*). There is insufficient evidence for this verb to be considered pre-Gmc. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

hoppezen “zurückkeilen, wiederkehren, hüpfen” (Raven I 1963: 73). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hoppettan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 189) “to hop, leap for joy; throb”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **huppatjan* “to hop”, intensive deverbative from NWGmc **huppōjanan* intensive gemination “to hop, leap”, or WGmc **huppan* intensive gemination “to hop, leap” (see under **hupfen* and **hopfōn*). Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

hōrehhen “horchen, hören” (Raven I 1963: 74). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hauzakjan* “horchen”, deverbative from Gmc weak verb **hauzijanan* (see under *hören*) and formed with intensive k-suffix (Kluge 1989: 316). cf. OFs. *harkia* II (Kluge 1989: 316) “horchen”; cf. OE *hyrcnian*, *heorcnian* II (Kluge 1989: 316) “to hearken, listen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative (formed with k-extension).

hören “hören, gehorchen, erhören” (Raven I 1963: 74). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hōrian* I (Kluge 1989: 316) “hören”; OFs. *hēra* I (Kluge 1989: 316) “hören”; OE *hīeran*, *hīran* I (Kluge 1989: 316) “to hear, hear of; listen to, follow, serve, obey, be subject to, belong to”; ON *heyra* I (Kluge 1989: 316) “hören”; OGutnish *hoyra* I (de Vries 1962: 226) “hören”; Gothic *hausjan* I (Kluge 1989: 316) “to hear”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hauzjanan* “hören”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE **keus-*. This is an s-extension from **keu-* (Pfeifer II 1989: 707) “worauf achten, beobachten, schauen; hören, fühlen, merken”, from which base the following may also be derived: Greek ἀκούω possibly from earlier **akousiō* s-extension (Kluge 1957: 315) “ich höre”; Greek κοῦω (Kluge 1989: 316) “ich bemerke, vernehme, höre”; Latin *cavēre* (Kluge 1989: 316) “sich in Acht nehmen, sich vorsehen”; Skt *ā-kūcate* (Kluge 1989: 316) “beabsichtigt”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gagan-*, *gi-*, *hera-*, *hera-zuo-*, *ir-*

horgēn “sich verunreinigen, beschmutzt sein” (Raven II 1967: 229). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *horo*, *hor* (Starck and Wells 1990: 285) “Schmutz, Schlamm, Mist”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

hornēn “Hörner bekommen oder mit Hörnern versehen sein” (Raven II 1967: 229). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *horn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 284) “Horn”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

hōrsamōn “gehorsamen” (Raven II 1967: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hōrsam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 286) “gehorsam”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

houbiten “enthaupten” (Raven I 1963: 76). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *houbitōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

houbitbantōn “mit Hauptband oder Kranz versehen, d.h. bekränzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 286). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *houbitbant* (Starck and Wells 1990: 286). Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

houbitthaftōn “kurzzusammenfassen” (Raven II 1967: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *houbitthaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 286) “das Leben betreffend, wesentlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

houbitōn “enthaupten, köpfen” (Raven II 1967: 68). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hēafdian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 170) “to behead”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **habuðōjan* “to behead”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *houbit* (Starck and Wells 1990: 286) “Kopf, Haupt”; OS *hōbid* (Kluge 1989: 297) “Kopf, Haupt”; OFs. *hāved*, *hā(u)d* (Kluge 1989: 297) “Kopf, Haupt”; OE *hēafod* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 170) “head; chief, leader”; ON *haufuð* (Kluge 1989: 297) “Haupt”; Gothic *haubiþ* (Kluge 1989: 297) “head”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **haubuðaz* (Kluge 1989: 297) “Haupt”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

houfōn “anhäufen” (Raven II 1967: 68). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hēapian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “to heap up, collect, bring together, accumulate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **haupōjan* “to heap up”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *houf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 287) “Haufen, Scheiterhaufen”; OS *hōp* (Kluge 1989: 296) “Haufen”; OE *hēap* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 174) “heap; host, crowd, assembly, troop, band”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **haupaz* (Kluge 1989: 296) “heap”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

houwōn “(den Boden) mit der Hacke bearbeiten, ihn behacken” (Raven II 1967: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hawwōjan* (Seebold 1970: 251) class II deverbative from strong verb **hawwanan* (Seebold 1970: 251) “hauen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *houwan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 251) “hauen, hacken, abhauen, fällen”; OS *hio* st. vb pret. sg. (Seebold 1970: 251) “hauen”; OFs. *hāwa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 251) “hauen, verwunden”; OE *hēawan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 172) “to hew, hack, strike, cleave, cut down, kill”; ON *hogg(v)a* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 251) “hauen, zerhauen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

hūfōn “(sich) häufen an, überhäufen, hinzukommen, haufen-, truppenweise” (Raven II 1967: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hūfo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 289) “Haufen, Menge, Aufhäufung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *untar-*, *zisamene-gi-*

huggen “denken an, be-, ge-, nachdenken, beabsichtigen, meinen, verlangen, hoffen, (sich) erinnern (an), bedacht sein auf, beherzigen, unerwartet, unvermutet, das Selbstvertrauen wiedergewinnen” (Raven I 1963: 305). cf. OHG *hogēn*, *hugēn* III (Schützeichel 1969: 85). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *huggian* I (de Vries 1962: 274). OFs. *huggia* I (de Vries 1962: 274). OE *hycgan* III? (de Vries 1962: 274) “to think upon, consider, mediate, study; understand; resolve upon, determine, purpose; remember, hope”; ON *hyggja* I (de Vries 1962: 274) “denken, meinen, beobachten”; Gothic *hugjan* I (de Vries 1962: 274) “to think”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hugijanan* “to think, consider, use one's mind”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hugu* (Lehmann 1986: 192) “mind, thought”;

OS *hugi* (Lehmann 1986: 192) “Sinn, Gedanke”; OFs. *hei* (Lehmann 1986: 192) “Sinn, Gedanke”; OE *hyge*, *hycge* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 200) “thought, mind, heart, disposition, intention; courage; pride”; ON *hugr* (Lehmann 1986: 192) “Sinn, Gedanke”; Gothic *hugs* (Lehmann 1986: 192) “mind”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hugiz*, **huguz* “mind”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *avur-*, *bi-*, *dara-*, *fīr-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *ubar-*, *widar-*

hugu-sangōn “lobsingen, preisen” (Raven II 1967: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *hugu* (Starck and Wells 1990: 289) “Sinn, Geist”; cf. OHG **-sangōn* not independently attested “singen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

hulden “hold oder gewogen machen, geneigt machen” (Raven I 1963: 76). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hold* (Kluge 1989: 314) “getreu, ergeben, wohlgesinnt, hold”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**huldigen* “huldigen”. No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **huldig* “hold, gnädig”, can be reconstructed from: MHG *huldic* (Lexer I 1872: 1380) “hold”; cf. OHG *huldigaro* (Starck and Wells 1990: 290) “gnädig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

hullen “verhüllen, bedecken, umgeben, schmücken, verbergen, umwinden” (Raven I 1963: 77). cf. OHG *hellen* I (Raven I 1963: 304). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *bi-hullian* I (Seebold 1970: 252) “verhüllen”; OFs. *bi-hella* I (Seebold 1970: 252) “verhüllen”; OE *be-hyllian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 39) “to cover, veil”; ON *hylja* I (Seebold 1970: 252) “verheimlichen”; Gothic *huljan* I (Seebold 1970: 252) “to cover”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **huljanan* (Seebold 1970: 252), class I zero-grade deverbative formation from strong verb **helanan* (Seebold 1970: 252) “verbergen” (see under *hellen*). Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *umbi-*

hungaren “hungern” (Raven I 1963: 77). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hungrian* I (Lehmann 1986: 193). OFs. *hungera* I (Lehmann 1986: 193). OE *hyngrian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 201) “to be hungry, hunger (for)”; ON *hungra* II (Lehmann 1986: 193) “hungern”; Gothic *huggrjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 193) “to hunger”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hungrijanan* “to hunger”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hungar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 291) “Hunger”; OS *hungar* (Kluge 1989: 321) “Hunger”; OFs. *hunger* (Kluge 1989: 321) “Hunger”; OE *hungor* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 196) “hunger, famine”; ON *hungr* (Kluge 1989: 321) “Hunger”; Gothic *hūhrus* (Kluge 1989: 321) “hunger”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hungruz* (Kluge 1989: 321) “Hunger”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

huohōn “höhnern, verspotten” (Raven II 1967: 70). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *huoh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 293) “Verhöhnung, Neckerei, Spott”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *umbi-*

huolen “täuschen, betrügen, hintergehen, irreführen, foppen, vereiteln” (Raven I 1963: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

huorōn “huren, ehebrechen, (mit Buhlerinnen) Wollust, Unzucht, auch (mit Buhlen) Sodomie treiben, weibisch machen, sich begatten” (Raven II 1967: 70). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *hóra* II (de Vries 1962: 249) “huren”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hōrōjanan* “to go whoring, to go with prostitutes, to be unfaithful”; cf. Gothic *horinōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 190) “to go whoring”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base:

OHG *huor(r)a* (Lehmann 1986: 190) “whore”; MLG *hor(r)e* (Kluge 1989: 321) “whore”; MDu. *hoere* (Kluge 1989: 321) “whore”; OE *hōre* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 190) “whore, prostitute”; ON *hóra* (Kluge 1989: 321) “Hure”; cf. OS *hōr-hūs* (Lehmann 1986: 190) “brothel”; cf. Gothic *hors* (Kluge 1989: 321) “Hurer”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hōrōn* fem. (Kluge 1989: 321) “Hure”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fīr-*

huosten “husten” (Raven I 1963: 77). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hwāstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 200) “to cough”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hwōstijan* “to cough”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *huostōn*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

huostōn “husten, den Husten haben” (Raven II 1967: 71). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *hāsten* (Pfeifer II 1989: 720) “husten”; MDu. *hoesten* (Pfeifer II 1989: 720) “husten”; ON *hósta* II (Pfeifer II 1989: 720) “husten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hwōstōjanan* “to cough”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *huosto* (Kluge 1989: 322) “Husten”; MLG *hāste* (Kluge 1989: 322) “Husten”; MDu. *hoesten* (Kluge 1989: 322) “Husten”; OE *hwāsta* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 200) “cough”; ON *hósti* (Kluge 1989: 322) “Husten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hwōstōn* masc. (Kluge 1989: 322) “Husten”, abstract t-formation from strong verb **hwōsan* (Seebold 1970: 285) “husten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *hwāsan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 200) “to cough”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

huoten “behüten, beachten, beobachten, für etwas sorgen, acht haben” (Raven I 1963: 77). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *hōdian* I (Holthausen 1967: 35) “beobachten”; OE *hēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 175) “to heed, take care, observe, attend, guard, take charge, take possession, receive, obtain”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hōdijan* “to protect, guard”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *huot* (Starck and Wells 1990: 294) “Hut, Haube, Bedeckung”; OS *hōd* (Kluge 1989: 322) “hood”; OFs. *hōd* (Kluge 1989: 322) “hood”; OE *hōd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 188) “hood”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hōdaz* (Kluge 1989: 322) “Hut, Bedeckung”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fora-bi-*

**hupfen* “hüpfen, hopsen”. MHG *hupfen*, *hüpfen* (Kluge 1989: 321) “hüpfen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *huppen* (Kluge 1989: 321) “hüpfen”; ME *hippen* (Kurath and Kuhn MED IV 1963: 793) “to leap, hop, spring, bounce”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **huppan* intensive gemination “to hop, leap”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. The intensive gemination exhibited by this verb points to it probably being an ablaut zero-grade intensive deverbative from an otherwise unattested verb which ultimately derives from IE **keub-*, **kūb-* (Pfeifer II 1989: 718) labial extension of IE *√*keu-*, **keuā-* (Pfeifer II 1989: 718) “biegen, den Körper sich in den Gelenken biegen; Wölbung, Höhlung”, from which base the following may also be derived: Gothic *hups* (Pokorny I 1959: 590) “Hüfte”; Latin *cubāre* (Pfeifer II 1989: 718) “liegen”; Skt *kubra-* (Pokorny I 1959: 590) “Höhlung in der Erde, Grube, Ohrring”. There is insufficient evidence for this verb to be considered pre-Gmc. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

hursken “hurtig machen, anspornen” (Raven I 1963: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *horsc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 286) “lebhaft, schnell, hurtig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

hūsōn “hausen, wohnen” (Raven II 1967: 71). The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *husen*, *huysen* (de Vries 1962: 268). OE *hūsan* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 196) “to house, receive into one's house”; ON *húsa* II (de Vries 1962: 268) “häusern, bebauen; Unterkunft gewähren”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **hūsōjanan* “to house”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hūs* (Starck and Wells 1990: 295) “Haus, Gotteshaus, Wohnhaus”; OS *hūs* (Kluge 1989: 296) “Haus”; OFs. *hūs* (Kluge 1989: 296) “Haus”; OE *hūs* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 196) “house, household; people, family race”; ON *hús* (Kluge 1989: 296) “Haus”; Gothic *gud-hus* (Kluge 1989: 296) “temple”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hūsan* (Kluge 1989: 296) “Haus”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

hūwilōn, *hūlōn* “jubilieren, jauchzen, heulen, (eigentlich) schreien wie die Eule” (Raven II 1967: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hūwila* (Pfeifer II 1989: 685) “Eule, Uhu”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

I

ibbihhōn, ippihhōn “wiedererzählen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 297). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Possibly from an unattested OHG **ippih* “long story, epic” < Latin *epicus* (Lewis and Short 1955: 650) “epic” < Greek *ἐπικός* (Liddell and Scott 1968: 640) “epic”. Or, alternatively, a direct denominative derivation direct from the Latin *epicus*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

īlen, īllen “eilen, trachten nach, sich bemühen (um), befließigen, streben, zielen, suchen, eifrig auf etwas bedacht sein, bemühen, streiten” (Raven I 1963: 78). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *īlian* I (Kluge 1989: 169) “eilen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **īljan* (Kluge 1989: 169) “sich mühen, anstrengen; > eilen”. Further etymology is unclear. The most plausible etymology is from IE zero-grade **īdos*, which derives ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*j\tilde{a}}$, **jō-* (Pokorny I 1956: 501) “erregt sein; bestrafen, rächen; erregt sprechen, beschwören, preisen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt (Vedic) *yāvan-* (Pokorny I 1956: 501) “Angreifer, Verfolger”; Skt *yāuh* (Pokorny I 1956: 501) “Hexerei, Spuk, Zauberdämon”; Armenian *janam* (Pokorny I 1956: 501) “ich strenge mich an”; Greek *ζῆλος* (Pokorny I 1956: 501) “Eifer, Eifersucht, Neid”; OIr. *á(i)lid* (Pokorny I 1956: 501) “wünscht eifrig, erbittet, erfleht”; Welsh *iolaſ* (Pokorny I 1956: 501) “ich lobe, preise, flehe an”; OCS *jarъ* (< Primitive Slavonic **iōra*) (Pokorny I 1956: 501) “streich, herb”. Despite the fact that attested forms of this verb are confined to WGmc, the IE parallels cited above provide suitable evidence to allow for it to be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *dara-*, *dara-gi-*, *furi-*, *furi-gi-*, *gi-*, *heim-*, *hera-*, *hera-gi-*, *herasun-*, *hinana-*, *in-*, *ingagan-*, *ubar-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*

imbizōn “frühstücken” (Raven II 1967: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *imbiz* (Kluge 1989: 327) “Imbiß”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

impitōn, impfōn “impfen, pfropfen, bepflanzen” (Raven II 1967: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. OE *impian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 204) “to imp, implant, graft” is probably an independent borrowing. Loan from Latin *imputāre* (Kluge 1989: 328) “veredeln, (propfen)”. This in turn from Greek *ἐμψτεύω* (Kluge 1989: 328) “ich pflanze ein, pflöpfe auf”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *gi-*

in-bi-heften “eng verbinden oder verknüpfen, verpflichten, fangen, verstricken, verwickeln, verwirren, umwinden, hineinsäen, hineinpflanzen, hineintun” (Raven I 1963: 65). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-bi-sperren “einsperren” (Raven I 1963: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-blumfen “in etwas hineinstürzen, -fallen” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1227). cf. NHG (dial.) *plumpen* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1227) “mit dumpfen Geräusch fallen”. No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably of imitative origin.

in-bouhnen, in-bouhhanen “ein Zeichen geben, zunicken, zuwinken, anzeigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-bringen “hineintun, begeben, verursachen, einflößen” (Raven I 1963: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-dingōn “in Gruppen von zehn einteilen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 101). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-drucken “einprägen, aufdrücken, antun” (Raven I 1963: 31). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-fuoren “einführen, zufügen, verursachen” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-bringen “entgegenbringen” (Raven I 1963: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-dennen “verschleiern, sich rechtfertigen” (Raven I 1963: 289). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-garawen “vor jemand bereiten, I. entgegenbereiten” (Raven I 1963: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-gi-sezzēn “entgegen-, durchsetzen, gegenüberstellen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 519). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-haben “bereiten” (Raven I 1963: 303). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-īlen “eilig entgegengehen” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-kēren “abwenden, abkehren, entgegen wenden” (Raven I 1963: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-mezzōn “vergleichen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 412). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-sezzēn “entgegensetzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 519). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(ingagan-)slihten “(entgegen) ebnen” (Raven I 1963: 191). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-spiardaren “sich entgegenstemmen, schieben, streben” (Raven I 1963: 196). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagani-spreiten “gegenüber ausbreiten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 580). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ingagan-stellen “entgegenstellen” (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-gi-besten “verwickeln, in Verlegenheit bringen”
No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-gi-blesten “durchbohren” (Raven I 1963: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-gi-buosumen “hineindrängen, sich einschmeicheln” (Raven I 1963: 21). Cognates; None.
Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-gi-dūhen “eintauchen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-gi-heften “in Verwirrung, in Verlegenheit bringen, einheften” (Raven I 1963: 65). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-gi-leiten “heimlich oder unversehens wohinbringen, hineinführen, aufsetzen, auflegen” (Raven I 1963: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-gi-mieten “pachten, mieten” (Raven I 1963: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-gi-sezzēn “äugeln, okulieren, beisetzen” (Raven I 1963: 175). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-gi-stecken “einstecken, hineinstecken” (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-haldēn “sich anlehnen, hinneigen, zu etwas geneigt sein” (Raven II 1967: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-īlen “eilig hineingehen” (Raven I 1963: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-kastōn “einfassen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 324). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-ladōn “einladen” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-leiten “einleiten, einführen, einfügen” (Raven I 1963: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *in-lædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 205) “to introduce, lead in”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-*

in-markēn “keimen, hervorsprossen, anwachsen, in etwas verwachsen” (Raven II 1967: 243). cf. OHG *merken* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 402). cf. OHG *markōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 402). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class III).

in-misken “einmischen, hineinfügen, -stecken, -tun” (Raven I 1963: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

inni-haben “besitzen, innehaben” (Raven I 1963: 303). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

innōn “in einen Kreis oder eine Gesellschaft jemanden aufnehmen, gesellen zu” (Raven II 1967: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *inne* adv. (Starck and Wells 1990: 304) “inne”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

in-pesken “durch eine Lockspeise anlocken, verlocken” (Raven 1963: 146). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Possibly a loan formation from Latin *inescāre* (Lewis and Short 1966: 941) “to allure with bait, entice”, which it is used to gloss. The ‘p’ can then be seen

as merely an intrusion. The reasons for this intrusion are, however, unclear, analogy probably playing a role". Therefore an OHG loan verb.

(in-)recken "hereinstrecken" (Raven I 1963: 152). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-rihten "hineintun, -stecken" (Raven I 1963: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-sāen "besäen, bepflanzen" (Raven I 1963: 167). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-sellen "einsetzen" (Raven I 1963: 320). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-sezzan "hineinlegen, hineinsetzen" (Starck and Wells 1990: 519). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 266) "to impose; oppress, bear down". Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

in-sigilen "versiegeln" (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

in-sleihhen "heimlich oder unversehens wohin bringen, einschmuggeln" (Raven I 1963: 190). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **-slaikejan* (Seebold 1970: 428) class I deverbative formation from strong verb **sleikanan* (Seebold 1970: 428) "schleichen". This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *slīhhan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 428) "schleichen, langsam gehen"; MLG *sliken* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 428) "schleichen". Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *in-*).

in-stecken "hineinstecken, sich tief einbohren" (Raven I 1963: 202). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-stepfen "sich einschiffen, ins Boot steigen" (Raven I 1963: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-stiuren "einrichten, steuern, lenken, (unter) stützen, stemmen, umgeben" (Raven I 1963: 206). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-stýran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 267) "to govern". Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

in-stungen "einbrocken, einkrümmeln" (Raven I 1963: 211). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-stungōn "einbrocken, einprägen, einpflanzen, übervollstopfen" (Raven II 1967: 150). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-sturzen "hineinstürzen" (Raven I 1963: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in-welzen "herumwälzen" (Starck and Wells 1990: 709). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-adalen "entarten" (Raven I 1963: 1). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *adal* (Kluge 1989: 165) "zum Adel gehörend, adlig". Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *int-*).

int-barōn “enthüllen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-beinen “entknöchern” (Raven I 1963: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *bein* (Kluge 1989: 71) “Bein”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *int-*).

int-beitōn “erwarten” (Raven II 1967: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-bermen “von Hefen reinigen, läutern” (Raven I 1963: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **berm*, **barm* “Hefe, Bierhefe”, can be reconstructed from: MLG *berm*, *barm* (Kluge 1989: 61) “Bierhefe”; OE *beorma* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 42) “barm, leaven, yeast, froth”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *int-*).

in(t)-blenden “verführen, verlocken” (Raven I 1963: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation from.

in(t)-botōn “durch Boten antworten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *boto* (Starck and Wells 1990: 71) “Bote, Botschafter, Gesanter, Kurier, Engel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *in(t)-*).

int-bouhnen, *int-bouhhanen* “verneinern, verweigern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-brennen “verbrennen, anzünden” (Raven I 1963: 15). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-bærnan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1358) “to set fire to, light (a fire), kindle; consume by burning, heat, inflame”; Gothic *in-brannjan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings 1968: 1359) “to set alight”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

int-brittlōn “(beim Pferdreiten) zügellos rennen, galoppieren” (Raven II 1967: 22). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *brittil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 78) “Zaum, Zügel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *in(t)-*).

in(t)-brutten “erwachen, sich ermuntern” (Raven I 1963: 21). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-burdinōn “entbürden” (Raven II 1967: 23). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-decken “aufdecken, entdecken, entblößen” (Raven I 1963: 24). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-dūhen “öffnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-edilēn “unedel werden, seine edle Abkunft entwürdigen” (Raven II 1967: 210). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *edili* (Starck and Wells 1990: 116) “edel; berühmt, edelmütig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *int-*).

int-erben “enterben” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 352). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *ent-erven* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 352) “enterben”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

int-ērēn “entehren, verunglimpfen, schänden, in Schande geraten, schmäählich widerlegen, beschimpfen, unehrerbietig” (Raven II 1967: 211). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-ērōn “entehren, schänden” (Raven II 1967: 36). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-frāgēn “fragen, erfragen” (Raven II 1967: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-frōren “starr oder frieren machen, stärken, verhärten, gefrieren” (Raven I 1963: 44). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **-frauzejan* (Seebold 1970: 211) causative deverbative from strong verb **freusanan* (Seebold 1970: 210) “gefrieren”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *friosan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 210) “frieren”; OE *frēosan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 139) “to freeze”; ON *frjósa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 210) “frieren, gefrieren”. Therefore an OHG causative deverbative (formed with prefix *in-*).

in(t)-fuolen “empfinden” (Raven I 1963: 48). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-fuoren “entführen, rauben, abpflücken, abrufen” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-gaganen “entgegenkommen, begegnen, mit jemandem ringen” (Raven I 1963: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-garawen “herausziehen, ausziehen, ablegen” (Raven I 1963: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-geinen “gähnen” (Raven I 1963: 56, 84). cf. OHG *geinōn* II (Raven II 1967: 52). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class I).

in(t)-gelten “entgelten, strafen, schlagen, hauen, stechen, schlachten, erlegen, entfernen, vertilgen” (Raven I 1963: 56). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I weak deverbative from the prefixed OHG strong verb *in(t)-geltan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 196) “büßen, entgelten”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

in(t)-gremmen “grimmig machen, erregen” (Raven 1963: 298). Cognates: Gothic *in-gramjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 159) “to irritate”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

in(t)-grūēn “schaudern” (Raven II 1967: 219). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-gurten “losgürten, aufgürten, entgürten” (Raven I 1963: 62). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-gyrdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 264) “to unbuckle, unfasten”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

int-haben “auf-, zurückhalten, aufrecht erhalten, ertragen” (Raven I 1963: 303). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-habēn “(reflex. +gen.) sich einer Sache enthalten, aushalten, aufhalten, aufrecht erhalten, ertragen, warten, (sein Leiden) ertragen, Halt machen, zu Gast sein, weit entfernt sein, tragen,

als Achsenlager dienen, widerstehen" (Raven II 1967: 222). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-hahsenen "die Fußsehne durchschneiden" (Raven I 1963: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-halsōn "köpfen, enthaupten, das heißt hinrichten" (Raven II 1967: 62). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-hebinōn "sich aufhalten, verweilen, Gast sein" (Raven II 1967: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-heften "lösen, befreien, freisprechen, etwas vollenden, zurückziehen, zurückhalten" (Raven I 1963: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-heilagōn "entweihen, entheiligen" (Raven II 1967: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-helden "abbiegen, abwenden, zu Ende gehen, abweichen, (den Kopf) zurücklehnen, -beugen, rückwärtsbiegen, anlehnen" (Raven I 1963: 68). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-hieldan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 265) "to lean, incline, recline, bend down; to cause to sink, bow, bend; decline, deviate, sink". Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

int-hellen "enthüllen" (Raven I 1963: 304). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-hērēn "(reflex. +gen.) verschmähen, zurückweisen, entehren" (Raven II 1967: 229). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-hirnen "erhirnen, das Gehirn einschlagen" (Raven I 1963: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hirn(i)* (Kluge 1989: 311) "Hirn". Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *in-*).

in(t)-keinen "braten, rösten, am Feuer dörren" (Raven I 1963: 84). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Seebold's view that the verb is derived from OHG *kīnan* st. vb "keimen, hervorsprießen, hervorbringen" (Seebold 1970: 290f.), is unconvincing semantically.

in(t)-kennen "erkennen, kennen lernen, wahrnehmen, bemerken, vernehmen, einsehen" (Raven I 1963: 86). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-cennan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 262) "to bear, bring forth". Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

in(t)-klenken "lösen, entbinden, aufbinden" (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-knupfen "aufgürten, losgürten, entgürten, lösen" (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-laden "befreien von, (+gen.) sich entledigen von, entlasten" (Raven I 1963: 309). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I weak deverbative from OHG strong verb *ladan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 357) "beladen, belasten". Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *int-*).

int-lehanōn "borgen, leihen, entleihen" (Raven II 1967: 86). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-leiten “fortführen, entführen, erniedrigen” (Raven I 1963: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-līhhisōn “(absichtlich) übersagen, unbeachtet lassen, verleumden” (Raven II 1967: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-liuhten “erleuchten, hell machen, leuchten, scheinen, tagen, durchscheinen, -schimmern” (Raven I 1963: 112). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-līhtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 265) “to illuminate, give light to, enlighten; restore to sight; shine”; Gothic *in-liuhþjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 236) “to light up, shine on; make known”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

int-lösen “lösen, entlösen, befreien” (Raven I 1963: 116). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-līesan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 265) “to loosen, set free, release”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

int-lougenen “gefallen, das Gefallen, (übtr.) = Dogmen, Grundsätze” (Raven I 1963: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-mahhōn “sich (von der Arbeit) freimachen” (Raven II 1967: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-mālēn “bejahen, bestätigen, billigen, gutheißen, zustimmen, durch Nicken oder Winken bezeichnen” (Raven II 1967: 242). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-nagalen, int-negilen “öffnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 429). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-(h)neigen “(sich) neigen, (sich) beugen, krümmen, zu Boden legen, herabziehen” (Raven I 1963: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-neinen “verneinen, im Abrede stellen” (Raven I 1963: 137). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nein* adv. (Starck and Wells 1990: 434) “nein, nicht”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation (formed with prefix *int-*).

int-(h)nicken “sich niederlassen, sich senken, sich niederkaufen” (Raven I 1963: 141). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-rahhōn “entschuldigen, zurückweisen” (Raven II 1967: 116). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-redinōn “lossprechen” (Raven II 1967: 118). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-regilōn “entkleiden, ablegen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 476). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-rerten “sich von einer harmonischen Übereinstimmung abwenden” (Raven I 1963: 154). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-rihten “wanken, verrücken” (Raven I 1963: 157). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-sagen “entschuldigen, entlassen, entsagen, absprechen, [waschen], antworten, Antwort geben, sich verfluchen” (Raven I 1963: 319). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-sagēn “in Abrede stellen, absprechen, entschuldigen, verneinen, leugnen, Gott lästern, das Gegenteil sagen, freisprechen, lossagen, überlegen, verheimlichen, verteidigen, verfluchen, opfern, gößt” (Raven II 1967: 251). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-secgan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 266) “to renounce, deny; offer sacrifice; impute, inform”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

int-satalōn “ab-, entsatteln” (Raven II 1967: 127). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-sellen “losbinden” (Raven I 1963: 320). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-sezzen “versehen, versorgen, verlassen, vernichten, stürzen, seiner Stellung entsetzen, unterwerfen, ausplündern, erschrecken, erniedrigen, demütigen, verdammenswert” (Starck and Wells 1990: 519). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 266) “to impose; oppress, bear down”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

int-sigilen “entsiegeln, öffnen, aufschließen” (Raven I 1963: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-skieren “glatt machen, ebnen” (Raven I 1963: 181). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skieri, skēri* (Starck and Wells 1990: 541) “scharfsinnig, hell, klar”. The semantic connection is best seen in the MHG attested meaning: MHG *schier* (Lexer II 1876: 726) “schnell”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *in(t)-*).

int-scuohōn “(die Füße) entblößen, entschuhlen” (Raven II 1967: 138). cf. OHG *scuohen* I (Raven I 1963: 187). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class II).

in(t)-slipfen “entschlüpfen” (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-sloufen “entschlüpfen, lassen, d.h. ein Wort fallen lassen” (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-slupfen “entgleiten, entfallen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 561). cf. OHG *sloufen* I (Raven I 1963: 192). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **-sluppjan* intensive gemination? (Seebold 1970: 436) class I intensive deverbative from zero-grade of strong verb **sleupanan* (Seebold 1970: 435) “schleichen, schlüpfen” (see under *sloufen*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative (formed with prefix *in(t)-*).

in(t)-snizzen “(?) herausschneiden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 566). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-soumen “den Saumsattel abnehmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 570). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *and-sōmian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 570) “den Saumsattel abnehmen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

in(t)-spennen “(von der Mutterbrust) entwöhnen, verbieten” (Raven I 1963: 322). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-sperren “aufsperren, öffnen, aufschließen” (Raven I 1963: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-statōn stehenbleiben, widerstehen” (Raven II 1967: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-swebben “einschläfern, einschlafen” (Raven I 1963: 324). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *an-swebbian* I (Seebold 1970: 483) “einschlafen”; OE *on-swebban* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 267) “to put to sleep, bury”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

in(t)-swillēn “(vom Körper) hart oder zäh werden” (Raven II 1967: 262). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-swintilōn “schwindlig machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 620). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-trennen “auftrennen, auflösen, zerreißen” (Raven I 1963: 228). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-twalōn “ausbleiben, zurückhalten von etwas, säumen” (Raven II 1967: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-twellen “ausbleiben” (Raven I 1963: 234). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-wānen “erregen, anreizen” (Raven I 1963: 250). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-wāten “entkleiden” (Raven I 1963: 251). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-wātōn “ablegen, ausziehen, (der Gewalt) entziehen” (Raven II 1967: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-wecken “wecken” (Raven I 1963: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-wennen “(von der Mutterbrust) entwöhnen, verbieten” (Raven I 1963: 331). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-werdōn “verachten, verhöhnen, verschmähen, verspotten, anklagen, tadeln” (Raven II 1967: 180). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*int-werēn*² “(+acc. pers. et gen. rei) aufheben, entziehen, nicht leisten, ungültig machen, entbehren, mangeln, abschlagen, verbrechen” (Raven II 1967: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*int-werien*¹ “befreien, eine streitige Sache schlichten” (Raven I 1963: 332). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-wihsalen, int-wehsalen “abwechseln, hin- und zurückgehen” (Raven I 1963: 262). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-wiriden “[verleiden], das Weiterreisen (Gotte) würdig ermöglichen” (Raven I 1963: 264). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-wirken “zerstören, entziehen, wegnehmen, tilgen” (Raven I 1963: 266). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ant-wirkian* I (Holthausen 1967: 88) “umbringen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

int-wisken “entwischen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 739). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

int-wonēn “ablassen von, aufhören, (sich) entwöhnen, ungewohnt sein, verlernen” (Raven II 1967: 275). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-wunian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 268) “to inhabit, remain”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

int-wurken “zerstören, vernichten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 750). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-zeihhanen “bezeichnen, bezeugen” (Raven I 1963: 273). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-zellen “sich entschuldigen, sich herausreden” (Raven I 1963: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

in(t)-zūnen “entzäunen, sich auseinandertun” (Raven I 1963: 281). No cognate verbs are attested. OE *on-tȳnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 267) “to open, reveal, display”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

in(t)-zunten “entzünden, anzünden, in Brand setzen” (Raven I 1963: 282). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

inzihtōn “beschuldigen” (Raven II 1967: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *inziht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 307) “Anschuldigung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ir-ahtōn “mit Gedanken erfassen, erkennen, genau wahrnehmen oder erwägen, ausdenken, ermessen” (Raven II 1967: 5). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-altēn “alt oder schwach werden, (+ gen.) wofür zu alt werden, verkommen, altern, ältlich, von hohem Alter, langjährig, träumerisch oder schläfrig” (Raven II 1967: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-angusten “sich änstigen, beklemmen” (Raven I 1963: 3). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-angustēn “sich ängstigen” (Raven II 1967: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-argēn “sich ärgen, mit den Zähnen verdrießlich knirschen” (Raven II 1967: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *arg* (Kluge 1989: 38) “geizig, sparsam, feige”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-armēn “arm werden” (Raven II 1967: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-āmezzēn “ausatmen” (Raven I 1963: 5). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-balden “schärfen, reizen” (Raven I 1963: 6). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-baldēn “(+gen. rei) sich erdreisten, sich erkühnen, sich vermessen, Mut fassen, wagen, vorwegnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-barmēn “sich jemandes erbarmen, einen zum Mitleid bewegen, Erbarmen haben mit, einen erbarmen machen” (Raven II 1967: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-barōn “entblößen, offenbaren, klar machen, bekannt sein, zeigen, treffen” (Raven II 1967: 13). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-barian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 1) “to lay bare, disclose; strip”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-beiten “vertreiben, fördern, verlangen” (Raven I 1963: 6). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-bēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 1) “to restrain, ward off, repel; exact, take toll; force out, extract”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-beitōn “erwarten” (Raven II 1967: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-beizen “beizen, (vom Pferde) hinabsteigen (eigentlich das Pferd weiden lassen), umhertreiben, plagen” (Raven I 1963: 7). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-belgen “beleidigen” (Raven I 1963: 7). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-belgan*, *ā-bylgan* I (Seebold 1970: 99) “to irritate, provoke”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-bellōn “aufschreien” (Raven II 1967: 14). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-betōn “um Gottes willen = inständigst anflehen, erflehen, erbitten, entreißen, abnötigen, gewaltsam entziehen, verhöhnen” (Raven II 1967: 16). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-bibēn “erbeben, heftig zittern” (Raven II 1967: 205). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-bifian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 1) “to tremble, quake, shake”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-biliden “jemandem gleichkommen” (Schützeichel 1969, p.15). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-bilidōn “durch Nachbildung erreichen, jemanden bildlich genau darstellen, ihm gleichen” (Raven II 1967: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-blāen “erblähen” (Raven I 1963: 9). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-bleihhēn “blaß oder bleich werden, (von Staunen) bleiche Wangen bekommen, erbleichen, erschrecken” (Raven II 1967: 206). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-blācian* II

(Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 1) “to become pale, grow faint; become tarnished”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-blenden “blenden, verwirren” (Raven I 1963: 9). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-blenden* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 1) “to blind, make blind, darken; dazzle, deceive, delude, stupify; put out the eyes of”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-blesten “hervorbrechen” (Raven I 1963: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-blicken “glänzend werden, erglänzen” (Raven I 1963: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-blintēn “blind werden, (körperlich und geistig) erblinden” (Raven II 1967: 206). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-blindian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 1) “to become blind”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-blōden “beunruhigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-blōdēn “sich beunruhigen oder fürchten, in Angst geraten, verzagen” (Raven II 1967: 246). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-bluhhen “aufflammen, sich erhitzen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-bluoen “ausblühen, verbrennen” (Raven I 1963: 11). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation from.

ir-bōren “sich ergeben, sich aufmachen; anfangen, anheben” (Raven 1963: 285). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-borgēn “durch Bürgschaft verpflichten” (Raven II 1967: 207). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-borgian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 2) “to be surety for”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-bruogen “aufschrecken, einschüchtern” (Raven I 1963: 20). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-bregan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings I 1968: 1451) “to alarm, terrify”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-brutten “erschrecken” (Raven I 1963: 21). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-burren, ir-burien “erheben, in die Höhe heben, sich aufmachen, überragen, verherrlichen, entschwinden lassen, prunken, sich aufblähen, sich anfachen, anreizen, Überdruß erleichtern” (Raven 1963: 286). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūf-*

ir-dempfen “ersticken, würgen, mit ekelhaftem Rauch umhüllen (=blenden), töten, handgreiflich werden” (Raven I 1963: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-denken “ersinnen, erdenken” (Raven I 1963: 23). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-pencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 29) “to think out, devise, invent”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-dennen “aus-, erdehnen, spannen, bestreuen” (Raven I 1963: 289). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-pennan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 29) “to stretch out, extend, draw out, expand; prostrate; apply the mind”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-derren “trocknen, dürr machen” (Raven I 1963: 28). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-pierran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 29) “to wash off or away, rinse, make clean, purge clear”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-dewen, ir-douwen “(von den Eingeweiden) heraustreten” (Raven I 1963: 291). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-diggen “erbitten, erlangen, durch Bitten erreichen, Erfolg haben”. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-dickēn “sich verhärten, unempfindlich werden, (wie ein Sturmwind) mit Heftigkeit heranziehen” (Raven II 1967: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-dilēn “austilgen” (Raven II 1967: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

ir-dingen “einen Vertrag schließen, sich einigen, etwas verabreden” (Raven I 1963: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-dionōn “verdienen, durch Dienst erwerben” (Raven II 1967: 27). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-donnarōn “donnern” (Raven II 1967: 28). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-dorrēn “dürr werden, verdorren, verwelken, austrocknen, verrenken, schwinden, vertrocknen, dürr, trocken” (Raven II 1967: 209). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-drucken “ausdrücken, zerdrücken, heraustreiben” (Raven I 1963: 31). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-þryccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 29) “to press, oppress”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-dūhen “auspressen, ausdrücken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-þȳan, ā-þȳn, ā-þȳwan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 368) “to drive away; to press out or into, squeeze out”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-dwesben “vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-egislīhēn “sich sträuben, steif oder dicht stehen” (Raven II 1967: 210). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *egislīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 118) “Ehrfurcht einfließend, schrecklich, scheußlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-egisōn “erschrecken, in Schrecken setzen, emporsträuben (vom Haar)” (Raven II 1967: 31). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-einān “vereinsamen, alleine sein” (Raven II 1967: 210). For simplex cf. OHG *einōn* II (Raven II 1967: 32). The following cognate verbs are attested: Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class III).

ir-eiscōn “erheischen, erforschen, erfragen, ausfragen” (Raven II 1967: 34). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-emizzigēn “anwachsen, (vom Schall) stärker werden” (Raven II 1967: 210). For simplex see OHG *emizzigōn* (Raven II 1967: 35). Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class III).

ir-entiscōn “veralten, verwerfen, verfallen” (Raven II 1967: 35). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *entisc* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 127) “alt, uralt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-erben “enterben” (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 352). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *er-erven* (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1975: 352). Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-fārēn “(+acc. pers.) durch Nachstellung erreichen, an jemand kommen” (Raven II 1967: 212). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-feiziten “mästen” (Raven I 1963: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-feiztēn “fett werden” (Raven II 1967: 212). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-fellen “niederwerfen, erschüttern, aufregen, ärgen, wankend machen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 38). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-fellan*, *ā-fyllan* I (Karg-Gasterstädt and Frings III 1979: 726) “to fell, strike down, beat down, overturn, lay low, slay, abolish”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-ferrēn “abtrünnig werden, sich entfernen” (Raven II 1967: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-festen “verfertigen, abfassen, vollenden” (Raven I 1963: 39). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-fæstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 14) “to let out on hire”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-fīlōn “ausfeilen, ausarbeiten” (Raven II 1967: 42). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-firnēn “alt oder schwach werden, vergehen, langjährig oder alt” (Raven II 1967: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-firren “entfernen, beseitigen” (Raven I 1963: 41). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-fierran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 14) “to remove, withdraw, depart; estrange from, take away, drive away, expel”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-fiscōn “erfischen, durch Fang bekommen, erlangen” (Raven II 1967: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-flēhōn “erflehen, durch Flehen erlangen bzw. bewegen” (Raven II 1967: 45). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-flewen “ausspülen, auswaschen” (Raven I 1963: 293). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-flougen “vertreiben, heftig erschrecken, einschüchtern” (Raven I 1963: 42). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-flīegan* (Seebold 1970: 518) “to put to flight, expel”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fram-*

ir-folġēn “verfolgen” (Raven II 1967: 215). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-fylgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 14) “to pursue”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-follōn “erfüllen, ausfüllen, vollenden, einheitlich zusammenfassen” (Raven II 1967: 46). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE **ā-fullian* II, attested in pres part *ā-fulliend* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 14). Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-folōn “erfühlen” (Raven II 1967: 47). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-forahten “sich fürchten, schaudern, sich entsetzen” (Raven I 1963: 53). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-fyrhtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 14) “to frighten, terrify”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-forscōn “anerkennen, billigen, gutheißen” (Raven II 1967: 48). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-frāġēn “durch Fragen erfahren, sich erkundigen, in Erfahrung bringen, nachfragen” (Raven II 1967: 216). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-fremiden “entfremden, in fremde Hände geben, verfeinden” (Raven I 1963: 43). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-frewen, ir-frouwen “sich erfreuen, froh sein, sich Freude erholen” (Raven I 1963: 295). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-frostēn “erfrieren, vor Kälte erstarren” (Raven II 1967: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *frost* (Starck and Wells 1990: 180) “Frost, Kälte”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-fülēn “(ver)faulen, in Fäulnis geraten, verwesen, (ver)mordern, absterben, verschmachten” (Raven II 1967: 217). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-fullen “füllen, erfüllen, voll machen” (Raven I 1963: 45). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-fyllan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 14) “to fill, fill up, replenish, satisfy; complete, fulfill”; Gothic *us-fulljan* I (Lehmann 1986: 131) “to fill out”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-*

ir-fuolen “fühlen, empfinden” (Raven I 1963: 48). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-fuoren “wegschaffen, versetzen, wegführen” (Raven I 1963: 49). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-furben “reinigen, säubern, sühnen” (Raven I 1963: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-füren “entmannen” (Raven I 1963: 52). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-fȳran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 14) “to emasculate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-gāhōn “langsam, untätig, schlaff, matt [sein]” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-gackezzen “leise reden, mucksen, munkeln, mucken” (Raven I 1963: 54). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-geilen “erheben” (Schützeichel 1969: 127). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-gēlan* I, with development of meaning (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 15) “to hinder, keep back, preoccupy, detain, hold back, retard, delay; neglect; profane”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-geilēn “stolz oder übermütig sein oder werden” (Raven II 1967: 218). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-gālian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 15) “to become slack”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-geillisōn “gewähren lassen, mutwillig oder üppig werden” (Raven II 1967: 51). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-glizinōn “glitzern, hervorschimmern” (Raven II 1967: 55). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-gluoen “erglūhen, glühend werden, aufbrausen, in Jähzorn geraten” (Raven I 1963: 59). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-greifōn “betasten, zu ermitteln suchen, untersuchen” (Raven II 1967: 57). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-grāpian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to grasp tightly”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-gremizzōn “einwenden gegen, protestieren, in Wut versetzen” (Raven II 1967: 57). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-gremmen “(sich) erregen, reizen, unerträglich machen, ergrämen, geistig angegriffen oder erschüttert” (Raven 1963: 298). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-grimezzēn “erbittern, empören, wild machen, verwildern” (Raven I 1963: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-gripfen, ir-kripfen “anpacken, derb anfassen, ergreifen” (Raven I 1963: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-grisgrimmōn (im Geiste) sich heftig entrüstet fühlen” (Raven II 1967: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-grunden “begründen, ergründen, glätten” (Raven I 1963: 60). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-gryndan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to descend”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-gruonēn “grünen, grün oder frisch werden” (Raven II 1967: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-gruozen “rasch oder stark bewegen, antreiben, erregen, bewegen, entfernen” (Raven I 1963: 61). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-grēan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to attack”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-grūwisōn, *ir-grūsōn* “grausen, Grausen empfinden, sich erschrecken lassen” (Raven II 1967: 58). No cognate verbs are attested. Best seen as a class II deverbative formed with prefix *ir-* and s-extension from OHG class II weak verb *grūēn* (Raven II 1967: 219) “grauen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with prefix *ir-* and s-extension).

ir-haben “verursachen” (Raven I 1963: 302). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-hahsenen “die Fußsehne durchschneiden” (Raven I 1963: 63). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-hāhsinōn “die Fußsehne durch schneiden” (Raven II 1967: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-halōn “zurückrufen, (Geld) fordern” (Raven II 1967: 60). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-halsen “köpfen, enthaupten” (Raven I 1963: 64). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-hangēn “(am Kreuz) hängen” (Raven II 1967: 225). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hangian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to hang”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-harēn “laut aufschreien” (Raven II 1967: 227). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-herian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to praise”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-hartēn “hart sein oder werden, sich verhärten, unempfindlich oder gefühllos werden, verstockt sein, beharren, vertrocknen” (Raven II 1967: 227). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-heardian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to be or become hard, grow hard or inured; endure”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-hazzēn “mißgönnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-heiēn “durch Hitze ausgetrocknet oder verdorrt werden, durch heißen Winde versengen, warm werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 262). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-heizēn “lodern, auflodern, in Brand geraten, aufbrennen, entbrennen, sich entzünden, (von der Sonne) heiß scheinen, erglühen” (Raven II 1967: 228). The following cognate verbs are

attested: OE *ā-hāian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to become hot”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-hecken “stechen” (Raven I 1963: 67). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-helzen “erlähmen” (Raven I 1963: 68). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hieltan*, *ā-hyltan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 17) “to trip up”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-henken “kreuzigen, an das Kreuz schlagen” (Raven I 1963: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-heriōn, *ir-herrōn* “verheeren, entvölkern, verwüsten, verzehren” (Raven II 1967: 66). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-herten “härten, verhärten, moralisch härten oder stählen” (Raven I 1963: 70). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hierdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to harden, make hard; encourage, animate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-hirnen “erhirnen” (Raven I 1963: 71). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hirn(i)* (Kluge 1989: 311) “Hirn”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-hogēn “(+gen.) (einer Sache) gedenken, sich erinnern (an)” (Schützeichel 1969: 85). OE *ā-hogian* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to think about, be anxious about”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-hōhen “erhöhen, vermehren, erhaben machen” (Raven I 1963: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. Gothic *us-hauhjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 179) “to magnify”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

*ir-holōn*¹ “aushöhlen” (Raven II 1967: 67). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-holian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to hollow, scoop out”; Gothic *us-holon* II (Lehmann 1986: 383) “to hollow out”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ir-hōren “hören, erfahren” (Raven I 1963: 74). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-houwōn “abhauen, verkrüppelt sein” (Raven II 1967: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-huggen “(intrans. reflex. +gen.) = denken an, gedenken, sich erinnern an, (trans.) = erfreuen, (negative) = vergessen” (Raven I 1963: 305). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hycgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 17) “to think out, devise”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-hursken “eilen, hurtig machen” (Raven I 1963: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-āalen “vereiteln, nichtig machen, verwüsten, ausleeren, ausladen, berauben, ausplündern, entblößen, verheeren” (Raven I 1963: 82). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-ādlan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 17) “to be or make useless or vain, frustrate, empty, annul; profane; be free from; deprive of”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-italēn “fade werden, sich verflüchtigen, vergehen” (Raven II 1967: 229). cf. OHG *italen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 314) “ausleeren”. No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class III).

ir-jungēn “wieder jung oder lebendig werden, wieder aufleben (des Jahres im Lenz)” (Raven II 1967: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-kaltēn “(von der Liebe =) erkalten, (vom religiösen Eifer =) erschlaffen, kalt werden, sich abkühlen” (Raven II 1967: 230). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-cealdian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 3) “to become cold”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-kennen “erkennen, kennen, lernen, wahrnehmen, verstehen” (Raven I 1963: 85). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-cennan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 2) “to bring forth, produce, beget, renew”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-kēren “abwenden, abkehren, ablenken, vertreiben, entwenden, entfremden, (sich) neigen, beugen, entfernen, umkehren, zerstören” (Raven I 1963: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dana-*

ir-kirnen “entkernen, erläutern” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-klagōn “beim Richter anklagen, gerichtlich ersuchen” (Raven II 1967: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-knāen “verstehen, geistig erfassen, erkennen, wahrnehmen, wissen” (Raven I 1963: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-koborōn “bewältigen, erlangen, die Oberhand gewinnen” (Raven II 1967: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-koufen “kaufen, erkaufen, erstehen, handeln” (Raven I 1963: 95). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-krāen “aufkrähen” (Raven I 1963: 96). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-krahhōn “erkrachen, krachend zerbrechen, stöhnen” (Raven II 1967: 81). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-kūnen “klagen, bedauern” (Raven I 1963: 98). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-kunden “nachweisen, bezeichnen, zu erkennen, geben, näher bestimmen, dedeuten” (Raven I 1963: 99). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-kunnēn “erfahren, kennenlernen” (Raven II 1967: 232). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-cunnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 3) “to try, test, prove, experience”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-kuolen “kühlen, kühl machen, stillen, befriedigen” (Raven I 1963: 100). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-cēlan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 2) “to cool off, still, quiet”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-kuolēn “kalt oder kühl werden, erschlaffen, durch Willkür ausarten oder übermütig werden, d.h. sich nach den Gesetzen nicht richten” (Raven II 1967: 232). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-cōlian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 3) “to grow cold”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-kusten “vernichten, erwürgen, ersticken, fast zu Tode quälen” (Raven I 1963: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-kwekkēn “aufleben, (wieder) lebendig werden, zu leben beginnen” (Raven II 1967: 230). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-cwician* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 3) “to revive (intrs.)”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-kwellen “peinigen, töten, zu Tode martern” (Raven I 1963: 308). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-cwellan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 3) “to kill, destroy”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-kwicken “beleben, erquicken, wieder erwärmen, neu beleben, erwecken, (wieder) erregen, anfachen, aufscheuchen” (Raven I 1963: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*, *ūz-*

ir-lāren “befreien (von), frei machen, erledigen, losbinden, erretten, leer machen” (Raven I 1963: 101). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lāri* (Seebold 1970: 332) “leer”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir*).

ir-leggen “auflegen, bestimmen” (Raven I 1963: 311). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-lecgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 17) “to put, place, lay down, lay aside, give up, cease from, abandon; put down, allay, suppress, abolish, conquer, destroy, overcome; inflict”; Gothic *us-lagian* I (Lehmann: 233) “to lay on”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ir-leiten “verweilen, vollbringen, Zeit zubringen, bereiten, zustandebringen, den Winter zubringen, überwintern, hinab-, herabführen, ableiten, entführen, führen, leiten, lenken, entwenden, entfernen, wegführen” (Raven I 1963: 104). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-lēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 17) “to lead, lead away, carry off, withdraw, conduct, bring; be produced, grow, come forth”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-lecken “austrocknen, ausgedörrt, vertrocknet, lechzend, trocken, vor Durst schmachend” (Raven I 1963: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-lemmen “erlähmen, zu Schaden kommen” (Raven I 1963: 313). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-lengen “verlängern, prolongieren, verzögern, aufschieben” (Raven I 1963: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-lenken “verrenken” (Raven I 1963: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *(h)lanca* (Kluge 1989: 438) “Hüfte, Gelenk, Lende, Weiche”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ir*).

ir-lesken “auslöschen, erlöschen, tilgen, tauen, betauen, tropfen, träufeln, (schaden), töten, ermordern” (Raven I 1963: 109). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *a-leskian* I (Seebold 1970: 333) “tilgen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-līhten “erleichtern, lindern” (Raven I 1963: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-līhtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to lighten, relieve, alleviate, take off, take away, alight”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-līhtirōn “erleichtern” (Raven II 1967: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-liuhten “erleuchten, hell machen, erhellen, Glanz verleihen” (Raven I 1963: 112). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-līhtan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to light up”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-liūāren “läutern, reinigen, rein machen, säubern” (Raven I 1963: 113). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hlyttrian*, *ā-hlūtrian* II originally I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to cleanse, purify”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-(h)liuten “widerhallen, mucksen” (Raven I 1963: 114). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *a-hludian* I (Holthausen 1967: 35) “verkünden”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*ir-lockōn*² “abzwacken, verlocken” (Raven II 1967: 92). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-loccian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to entice”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-lōsen “lösen, befreien, heraustun, zeigen, offenbar machen, entblößen, vertilgen, öffnen, zerschneiden, fernbleiben, meiden, etwas nicht haben, frei oder unbesetzt sein, erretten, erhalten, entziehen” (Raven I 1963: 116). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-līesan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to loosen, let loose, free, redeem, release, absolve”; Gothic *us-lausan* I (Lehmann 1986: 229) “to empty, save”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ir-louben “erlauben, gestatten, zulassen” (Raven I 1963: 117). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-līefan*, *ā-lȳfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to allow, give leave to, grant; hand over, yield up”; Gothic *us-laubjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 141) “to permit”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ir-lougenen “durchaus verneinen oder leugnen, entschieden in Abrede stellen, durchaus abschlagen, versagen, verweigern” (Raven I 1963: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-luhhen, *ir-liuhhen* “büßen, abbüßen, waschen, spülen, (leiden)” (Raven I 1963: 112). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-lucken “abzwacken” (Raven I 1963: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-luogēn “(+acc.) anschauen, erblicken, gewahr werden, schauend erkennen” (Raven II 1967: 240). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-maganōn “erheben, die Oberhand gewinnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 398). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-manēn “ermahnen” (Raven II 1967: 242). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-manōn “ermahnen, einen woran erinnern” (Raven II 1967: 99). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-manian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to exact, require”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-māren “erklären, offenbaren, verkünden, klar dartun, öffentlich ausrufen, rühmen, bekannt oder berühmt werden beziehungsweise machen, sich überall verbreiten, veröffentlichen” (Raven I 1963: 123). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-mæran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to extoll”; Gothic *us-mēljan* I (Lehmann 1986: 252) “to spread (the news) abroad”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ir-marcōn “schildern, anstellen” (Raven II 1967: 100). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-mearcian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to mark out, delineate, define, describe; destine, assign, appoint”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-mattēn “fade werden, sich verflüchtigen, betören” (Raven II 1967: 243). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **mat* “schwach, kraftlos, fade”, which can be reconstructed from: MHG *mat* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1076) “kraftlos, schwach, erschöpft”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-meginōn “erheben, die Oberhand gewinnen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 398). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-milten “ergötzen, sich erfreuen, sein Vergnügen finden oder haben” (Raven I 1963: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-muckezzen “mucken, mucksen, einen Brummlaut hören” (Raven I 1963: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-muntaren “aufwachen, sich ermuntern, auffahren, aufschrecken, sich entsetzen, tüchtig üben, verfeinern, aufrufen” (Raven I 1963: 132). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-muodēn “ermatten, sich ermüden, erschöpft werden” (Raven II 1967: 245). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-namōn “berühmt, rühmlich genannt” (Raven II 1967: 108). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-narrēn “Zum Narren werden, erstarren oder gefühllos werden - d.h. sterben, albern oder töricht sein, sich betören, verachten” (Raven II 1967: 245). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *narro* (Starck and Wells 1990: 432) “törichter Mensch, Narr”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-nazzēn “naß werden, überschwemmen” (Raven II 1967: 245). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-nerien “heilen, (er)retten, gesund machen” (Raven I 1963: 315). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-nerian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 21) “to deliver, rescue”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-niusen “versuchen” (Raven I 1963: 142). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-niuwōn “erneuern, erfrischen, neu oder frisch machen, wiederherstellen” (Raven II 1967: 109). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-obarōn, *ir-obarōt-* “(pret. part.) erschöpft” (Starck and Wells 1990: 448). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-ōden “öde machen, (gänzlich) verwüsten, verheeren, ausplündern” (Raven I 1963: 144). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-ðan*, *ā-ieðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 17) “to lay low, demolish, destroy, cast out”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-offanōn “entdecken, enthüllen, offenbaren, verrate, erweisen” (Raven II 1967: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-ougen “(sich) zeigen, offenbaren, offenbar sein, erscheinen, bekanntmachen, berichten, erlassen, enthüllen, Züchtigkeit oder Unschuld verleihen (=freisprechen)” (Raven I 1963: 145). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ir-rāhhen “an Pferdesteifheit leiden, steif werden” (Raven I 1963: 147). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **rāhi* “starr, steif”, which can be reconstructed from: MHG *rāhe* (Lexer II 1876: 335) “starr, steif, besonders von der Gliedersteifheit der Pferde”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-rahhōn “feststellen, aufzählen, entdecken, schildern” (Raven II 1967: 115). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-redinōn “erörtern, erzählen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 475). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-refsen “schelten, rügen, strafen, züchtigen, bedrohen” (Raven I 1963: 148). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-reihhen “erreichen, holen, bringen, (intr.) wonach langen, sich erstrecken” (Raven I 1963: 149). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-ræcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 23) “to reach, get at; hold forth, reach out; get (a thing for a person)”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-reihhōn “mit dem Verstand erreichen, geistig erfassen, begreifen” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-reimen “zuteilwerden” (Raven I 1963: 149). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

ir-(h)reinen “reinigen, säubern” (Raven I 1963: 149). The following cognate verbs are attested: Gothic *us-hrainjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 190) “to clean out”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ir-(h)reinōn “reinigen, läutern” (Raven II 1967: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-recken “erklären, bekannt oder ruchbar werden, sich verbreiten, (von Worten) aus dem Munde hervorgehen, sprechen, deuten, her-, ausrufen, aufrecken, aufrichten, ordnen, anregen, ausbilden, verfeinern, erzählen” (Raven I 1963: 151). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-reccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 24) “to spread out, put forth, stretch out; lift up, erect, build up; say, relate, declare, speak out, explain, expound, translate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *irf-*

irren “irren, in die Irre gehen, verwirren” (Raven I 1963: 80). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *irrian* I (Lehmann 1986: 19) “to disturb, confuse”; Gothic *airzjan* I (Lehmann

1986: 19) “to lead astray; deceive, pass”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **erzijanan* “to anger, provoke; lead astray”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *irri* (Starck and Wells 1990: 311) “umherschweifend, wandemd, zügellos”; OS *irri* (Lehmann 1986: 19)) “angry, embittered”; OFs. *irre* (Lehmann 1986: 19) “angry, embittered”; OE *ierre, yrre* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 203) “wandering, erring, perverse, depraved; angry, fierce”; Gothic *airzeis* (Kluge 1989: 336) “deceived, in error”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **erzjaz* (Kluge 1989: 336) “verirrt, zornig”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ir-rentōn “auseinandersetzen, erörtern” (Raven II 1967: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-(h)retten “(er)retten, entziehen, befreien” (Raven 1963: 316). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hreddan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to set free, save, rescue, recapture”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-rihten “aufrichten, erbauen, sich erheben oder empören, errichten, belehren, beweisen, erklären, erwägen” (Raven I 1963: 156). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūf-*

ir-rīmen “errechnen, berechnen, aufzählen” (Raven I 1963: 157). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-rīman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 24) “to number, count, enumerate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-riuten “vernichten, vertreiben, ausrotten” (Raven I 1963: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-roffezzen “rülpsen, hervorbringen, verkündigen, Worte herausstoßen” (Raven I 1963: 159). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

irrōn “irren, umherirren, irre sein oder werden” (Raven II 1967: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OE *iersian, yrsian* II, formed with s-extension (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 203) “to be angry with, rage; enrage, irrate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *irren*). Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-, gi-*

ir-rostagēn “rostig werden, rosten” (Raven II 1967: 248). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-rosten “verrosten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 492). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-rōtagēn “rostig werden” (Raven II 1967: 248). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *rōtag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 493) “rot, rötlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-roubōn “ausplündern, berauben” (Raven II 1967: 123). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-rēafian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 24) “to separate, divide”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-roufen “ausraufen, ausreißen” (Raven I 1963: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

ir-rozzēn “zersetzen, zerfetzen” (Raven II 1967: 248). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-ruhen “aufbrüllen, schreien” (Starck and Wells 1990: 496). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-rucken “(unter) stützen, nicht sinken lassen” (Raven I 1963: 160). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-rūmen “räumen, leer machen, verlassen, fortschaffen, aufräumen” (Raven I 1963: 162). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-(h)ruofen “auf-, ausrufen, laut rufen, schreien, eine Einrede vorbringen, klagen, sich beklagen, rufend klagen, auffordern, übereinkommen” (Raven I 1963: 163). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-(h)ruoren “(an)stoßen, aufreiben, aufjagen (vom Wild), absondern, entfernen, einsam sein, ankündigen, ausgraben, anführen” (Raven I 1963: 166). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hrēran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to move, shake, make to tremble”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-sagēn “(Träume) deuten, (ein Gleichnis) erklären, auslegen, vollständig erzählen oder hersagen” (Raven II 1967: 250). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-secgan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 25) “to say out, express, tell, narrate, explain, announce”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-salawen “dunkel oder glanzlos werden” (Raven I 1963: 168). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-seigarēn “versiegen, verwelken” (Raven II 1967: 252). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **seigar* “matt, tropfelnd”, which can be reconstructed from: MHG *seiger* (Starck and Wells 1990: 513) “matt, tröpfelnd”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-sērawēn “verschmachten, versiegen, verwelken” (Raven II 1967: 253). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-sērēn “sich einstellen (von Wehen bei einer schwangeren Frau), schwanger gehen, kreissen” (Raven II 1967: 252). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-sezzēn “(+dat. pers.) wiederherstellen, wieder erstehen lassen, ersetzen” (Raven I 1963: 173). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-settan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 26) “to set, put, place, store up; fix, establish, appoint, set up, build”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-siohhēn “krank werden, verwelken, versiegen, verzagen” (Raven II 1967: 253). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-siuwen “planen, verfertigen, verabreden” (Raven I 1963: 320). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-sēowan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 26) “to sew”; Therefore WGmc prefix formation.

ir-scabarōn “erhaschen, gewinnen” (Raven II 1967: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

ir-skeinen “zeigen, erweisen, klar herausstellen, Licht oder Sittenreinheit geben, leuchten, hervorgeben, zum Vorschein bringen, (Stöcke brechen)” (Raven I 1963: 178). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-skellen “erschallen, verwirren” (Raven I 1963: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-skimbalagēn “dahin schwinden, veralten, eigentlich 'schimmelig werden’” (Raven II 1967: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skimbalag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 542) “schimmelig, brüchig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-skimbalēn “dahin schwinden, veralten, eigentlich 'schimmelig werden’” (Raven II 1967: 254). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *skimbal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 542) “rauh, schäbig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-skiuhen “zurückscheuen vor, in Entsetzen geraten über, erschauen” (Raven I 1963: 183). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-scouwōn “erblicken, wahrnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 135). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-screcken “verwehen, wegtreiben (gleich der Heuschrecke vom Sturm)” (Raven I 1963: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-scricken “erschrecken, (her)abspringen” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūf-*

ir-scutisōn “jemanden befallen oder bedrängen, ins Verderben stürzen, schaudern, zurückschrecken” (Raven II 1967: 138). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-scутten “erschüttern, schütteln, bewegen, aus-, wegschütteln” (Raven I 1963: 189). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-slaffēn “erschlaffen” (Raven II 1967: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-slewēn “lau oder schlaff werden, (von der Schneide einer Axt) stumpf werden, verschmachten, vertrocknen, verwelken (von Pflanzen), verzagen” (Raven II 1967: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-smāhēn “(+acc.) geringfügig oder verächtlich scheinen, unangenehm erscheinen, beleidigen, zurückstoßen, (vom Ruhm) verdunkelt werden, verächtlich werden” (Raven II 1967: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *smāhi* (Kluge 1989: 641) “klein, gering, verächtlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-smāhlīhēn “gemein, verächtlich oder wertlos werden” (Raven II 1967: 256). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-spehōn “ausforschen, erblicken, ausspähen, erkennen” (Raven II 1967: 141). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-spentōn “verteilen” (Raven II 1967: 141). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-sperren “ganz anfüllen, aufblähen” (Raven I 1963: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-spilden “vorausnehmen?” (Raven I 1963: 195). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-spillan* I, with assimilation of 'd' to 'l' (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 26) “to destroy”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-spreckilōn, *ir-sprehhilōn* “Flecken bekommen, fleckig sein” (Raven II 1967: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *spreckel* (Pokorny I 1959: 997) “(Haut-)fleck”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-sprengen “herbeischaffen, hervorholen” (Raven I 1963: 198). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-sprengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 26) “to cause to spring, fling out”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-spriuzzēn “spreizen, stärken, erquicken, aufrecht- oder emporhalten, unter etwas gestützt” (Raven I 1963: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-spuolen “(von Sünde) reinigen, sie abspülen” (Raven I 1963: 199). No cognate verbs are attested. OE *ā-spylian* II, probably originally class I as indicated by umlaut (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 27) “to wash oneself”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **ar-spōljan* “to wash (oneself)”; cf. MLG *spōl* (Pfeifer III 1989: 1686) “Spülwasser”. This noun is probably post verbal. Further etymology unclear.

ir-spuriēn “durchsuchen, durchwandern” (Raven I 1963: 323). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-spyrian* II by levelling as umlaut indicates origin in class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 27) “to track, trace out, investigate, study, explore, discover”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-spurilōn “aussagen, anzeigen, aufspüren” (Raven II 1967: 145). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-stabēn “erstarren, (von der Hand am Schwertgriff) stecken bleiben, (vor Kälte, vor Furcht) erstarren, erschrecken, verzagen” (Raven II 1967: 257). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-stamēn “stammeln” (Raven II 1967: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-steinen “sich versteinern, zu Stein werden” (Raven I 1963: 201). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-stānan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 27) “to adorn with precious stones”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-sterben “töten, morden, stürzen, sterben lassen” (Raven I 1963: 203). No cognate verbs are attested. Weak deverbative variant of OHG *ir-sterban* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 591) “sterben, absterben”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

ir-stiften “(stützen), stopfen” (Raven I 1963: 204). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-stivulen “stopfen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 595). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-sticken “(ersticken), sterben, den Geist aufgeben” (Raven I 1963: 205). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-stiuſen “der Kinder berauben, verwaisen, verwitwen” (Raven I 1963: 205). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-stȳpan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 27) “to deprive, bereave”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-stören “verwüsten, zerstören, zugrunde richten, umkehren (heimsuchen?)” (Raven I 1963: 207). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-storkanēn “erstarren, kalt sein” (Raven II 1967: 259). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **-sturkanējan* “erstarrt sein oder werden”, deadjectival verb from the preterite participle of the strong verb **sterkanan* (Seebold 1970: 473) “erstarren”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG **gi-storken* pret. part. (dat. pl. *kistorchenen* glosses *dabatis*, Seebold 1970: 473); ON *blóð-storkenn* pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 473) “erstarrt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-stouben “ausfragen, belehren, weihen oder heiligen, aufscheuchen” (Raven I 1963: 208). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-stouwen “zurückstoßen, anpacken, schelten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 597). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-strengen “ertragen, leisten, anfertigen, zusammenschmieden” (Raven I 1963: 209). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE **ā-strengan* I, can be reconstructed from preterite participle *ā-strenged* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 27) “made strong, malleable”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-strewen “zurückstoßen” (Raven I 1963: 324). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-strobalōn “struppig sein, sich borsten, borstenähnlich emporragen (vom Getreide)” (Raven II 1967: 149). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *strobal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 600) “struppig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-stummēn “still, stumm sein oder werden, aufhören zu reden, verstummen” (Raven II 1967: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *stum(b)* (Starck and Wells 1990: 602) “stumm”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-stungen “antreiben” (Raven I 1963: 211). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-stuoen “büßen, strafen, von Sünden freimachen” (Raven I 1963: 210). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-sturen “zerstören, zerrütten, umstürzen” (Raven I 1963: 212). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-sturzen “niederwerfen, zum Sturz bringen” (Raven I 1963: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-sūftōn “nach etwas seufzen, (Gottes wegen) durch seufzen zu erlangen such, (er)seufzen” (Raven II 1967: 151). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-suohhen “untersuchen, aus-, erforschen, ganz durchsuchen, zu erforschen suchen, erschöpfen, prüfen, Rechenschaft verlangen” (Raven I 1963: 215). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-sēcan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 25) “to seek out, select, search out, examine, explore; require, ask; search through, penetrate”; Gothic *us-sokjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 318) “to search”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ir-sūrēn “sauer werden” (Raven II 1967: 260). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-sūrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 27) “to be or become sour”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-swārēn “Auspizien anstellen, Vogelschau halten” (Raven II 1967: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-swarzēn “(von dunkelen oder schwärzlichen Fluten der See) emporwegen” (Raven II 1967: 261). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-sweartian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 27) “to turn livid, become ashy or black”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-swebben “überschwemmt oder flau sein, stillstehen, sich zurückstauen” (Raven I 1963: 324). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-swebban* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 27) “to lull, soothe, set at rest; put to death, destroy”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-swelkēn “welk sein oder werden, verwelken” (Raven II 1967: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-swenten “schwinden machen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 220). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-swillēn “schwierig werden, (vom Körper) hart oder zäh werden, sich verhärten” (Raven II 1967: 262). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-swizzen “in Schweiß kommen” (Raven I 1963: 221). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-teilen “urteilen, verurteilen, richten, ein Urteil fällen, unterscheiden, entscheiden, abwägen, verwirken, beschließen” (Raven I 1963: 223). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-dēlan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 3) “to divide, separate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*

ir-tobēn “rasend oder tobend werden, den Verstand verlieren, albern, einfältig, närrisch, töricht, bejahrt, die Greisin, die Wahrsagerin (?)” (Raven II 1967: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-tōden “ertöten, dem Tode überliefern, erschlagen” (Raven I 1963: 226). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-dȳdan*, *ā-dīēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 4) “to destroy, mortify, kill”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-tofsēn “taub werden; sterben” (Raven II 1967: 263). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Possibly a variant from of *touben* formed with an s-extension and the prefix *ir-*. The 'f' can be explained as a result of the devoicing of labial fricative 'b' in contact

with following 's'. This change took place before the development of the labial fricative 'b' to plosive 'b'. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (formed with s-extension).

ir-tōwen “belästigen, plagen, betäuben” (Raven I 1963: 325). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-trāgen “verwenden, verbrauchen” (Raven I 1963: 227). No cognate verbs are attested. For simplex verb see: OHG *trāgōn* III (Raven II 1967: 157) “träge oder langsam werden, stumpf sein”; OHG *trāgēn* III (Raven II 1967: 263) “träge, verdrossen, langsam werden; launisch, verdrießlich sein”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class I).

ir-trāgēn “langweilen, verdrießen” (Raven II 1967: 264). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-trahtōn “ausdenken, erdenken, mit geanken erfassen, begreifen” (Raven II 1967: 158). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-trenken “berauschen, ertrinken machen, ertränken” (Raven I 1963: 228). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-drencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 4) “to submerge, immerse, drown”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-truckanēn, ir-trockanēn “trocken werden, aus-, vertrocknen” (Raven II 1967: 264). cf. OHG *truckanen* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 638) “trocknen, austrocknen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class III).

ir-truosanen “reinigen, abführen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 639). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *truosana* (Kluge 1989: 158) “Hefe, Drusen, Bodensatz, was beim Auspressen von Früchten bleibt”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-tumbēn “ganz unverständlich sein, verstummen” (Raven II 1967: 266). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-dumbian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 4) “to become dumb, keep silence”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-tuomen “richten, urteilen” (Raven I 1963: 233). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-dēman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 3) “to judge, try, deprive of or exclude from a legal decision; to try, afflict”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-turren “abtun, wegschaffen” (Raven I 1963: 233). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-twellen “(ver) zögern” (Raven I 1963: 234). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-dwellan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 4) “to seduce, lead astray, hinder”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-unganzēn “verwelken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 658). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *unganz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 658) “nicht heil, nicht gesund”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-unmahtēn “ermatten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 668). cf. OHG *unmahten* I (Raven I 1963: 242). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (with change of class to class III).

ir-unwerdēn “wertlos werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 677). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-uobarōn “auf sich nehmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 679). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wāfanen “waffnen” (Raven I 1963: 247). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wagōn “erregen, in Bewegung oder Erschütterung geraten” (Raven II 1967: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wahharōn “auf-, erwecken, zum Aufstehen bringen, antreiben, erregen” (Raven II 1967: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wahhēn “(+gen.) aufwachen von etwas, wach werden, erwachen” (Raven II 1967: 269). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wacian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 29) “to awake”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-waldēn, ir-waldā- “Waldbewohner, d.h. Unchrist sein, heidnisch oder ungebildet” (Raven II 1967: 269). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wald* (Starck and Wells 1990: 692) “Wald, Wildnis, Wüste”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction (formed with prefix *ir-*).

ir-wallōn “durchwandern, (übtr.) (durch die Glieder die ganze Welt) erhellen, besuchen, wandernd erreichen” (Raven II 1967: 171). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wānen “hoffen, glauben, meinen” (Raven I 1963: 249). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wēnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 249). Therefore a WGmc prefix formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *īf-*

ir-wannōn “auswurfeln, mit der Futterschwinge oder der Wurfschaufel als Spreu wegschwingen”
No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wantalōn “enthüllen, entwickeln, schildern, offenbaren, (eigentlich) herauswälzen” (Raven II 1967: 174). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-warmen “(er)wärmen” (Raven I 1963: 251). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-warmēn “sich erwärmen, (von der Sonne) heiß scheinen, (vom Tag) zu Mittag am heißesten werden, (von Pflanzen) versengen, entbrennen” (Raven 1963: 269). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wartēn “an-, ausschauen, anblicken, spähen” (Raven II 1967: 270). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-weardian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to guard, defend”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-wegen “bewegen, aufwärts-, fortbewegen, in Bewegung setzen, anregen, antreiben, entfernen, erschüttern, schütteln, aufheben” (Raven I 1963: 328). The following cognate verbs are attested:

OE *ā-wecgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to undermine, shake, move”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*, *ūz-*

*ir-wegōn*² “auf dem Wege sein zu, zurückkehren” (Raven II 1967: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wehsalōn “betören” (Raven II 1967: 177). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-weigarōn “sich überheben, stolz oder übermütig werden” (Raven II 1967: 178). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-weigen “wackelnd bewegen” (Raven I 1963: 252). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wāgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 29) “to deceive, destroy, annul”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-weihhēn “weich werden, ermatten, matt kraftlos, verweichlicht, weibisch sein oder werden” (Raven II 1967: 271). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wācian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 29) “to grow weak, decline, fall; fall away”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-weinōn “aufschlucksen, aufweinen, zu weinen beginnen” (Raven II 1967: 179). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wecken “(auf)erwecken, aufwecken, entstehen” (Raven I 1963: 253). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-weccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to awake, rouse, incite, excite”; Gothic *us-wakjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 392) “to wake up”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ir-welkēn, *ir-welhēn* “ermatten, schwach werden, (von Blüten verwelken, verzagen” (Raven II 1967: 271). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wellen “erwählen, auswählen, auserwählen, sich zu etwas entschließen, etwas versuchen” (Raven I 1963: 329). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-welzen “vergehen (Zeit), auf-, ausreißen, wegwälzen” (Raven I 1963: 254). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wyltan*, *ā-wieltan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 426) “to roll, roll away, harass”; Gothic *us-waltjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 392) “to overturn”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

ir-wemmen “corrumpere” (Raven I 1963: 255). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wemman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to disfigure, corrupt”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-wenken “stürzen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 256). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wennen “entwöhnen” (Raven I 1963: 331). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wenian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 403) “to disaccustom, wean”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-wenten “rückgängigmachen, abwenden, zurückwenden, abbringen, zurückbringen, einen wovon benehmen” (Raven I 1963: 257). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE

ā-wendan I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to avert, turn aside, remove, upset; change, pervert”; Gothic *us-wandjan* I (Lehmann 1989: 393) “to withdraw, deviate, turn away”. Therefore a Gmc prefix formation.

ir-(h)werben “aufwiegeln, abhalten” (Raven I 1963: 259). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hwierfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 39) “to turn away, turn from, avert”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

*ir-werien*¹ “(+dat.) wehren, abwehren, erwehren, hindern, verhindern, verteidigen, erschöpft” (Raven I 1963: 332). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-werian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to defend, hinder, restrain; cover, protect, surround, enclose; ward off”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-werten “(gewaltsam) verletzen, (mit Pfeilen) durchbohren, verderben, erschöpfen, in Versuchung führen, entweißen, nichtsnutzig werden” (Raven I 1963: 259). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *a-wardjan* I (Seebold 1970: 560) “verderben”; OE *ā-wiedan*, *ā-wyrdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to spoil, injure, hurt, corrupt, seduce, destroy, kill”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-wesanēn “alt oder altersschwach werden, hinschwinden, völlig kraftlos werden, verrenken” (Raven II 1967: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-(h)wezen “bearbeiten, wetzen” (Raven I 1963: 260). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hwettan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 17) “to whet, excite, kindle; hold out to, provide; reject”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-widaren “zurückweisen, verschmähen” (Raven I 1963: 261). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-widarōn “zurückweisen, verschmähen” (Raven II 1967: 182). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wintōn “worfeln, schwenken, niederstoßen” (Raven II 1967: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wirken “erwirken” (Raven I 1963: 265). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wirsēn “schlecht werden, vertrocknen; confundere” (Raven II 1967: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *wirsiro* comp. adj (Starck and Wells 1990: 737) “schlimme, ärger, schlechter”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with prefix *ir-* and with loss of medial 'r' by syncope).

ir-(h)wispalōn “ertönen, widerhallen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 739). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wituwēn “des Gatten beraubt oder verwitwet sein” (Raven II 1967: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-(h)wizēn “weiß werden oder leuchten” (Raven II 1967: 274). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-hwīlian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 17) “to whiten, become white”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-wizzēn “(+gen.) achtgeben auf, Wache halten, beobachten, zum Verständnis gelangen” (Raven II 1967: 274). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wunsken “erwünschen, an Kindesstatt angenommen, durch Adoption erlangt oder angenommen, zur Adoption gehörig” (Starck and Wells 1990: 747). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wuntarōn “sich wundern, staunen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 748). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wundrian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 31) “to wonder, wonder at, admire”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-wuolen “(auf)wühlen, (um)kehren, aufgraben, Loch” (Raven I 1963: 269). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-wuosten “verwüsten, verheeren, ausplündern, verlassen” (Raven I 1963: 270). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wēstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to lay waste, destroy”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-wuoten “rasen, wahnsinnig sein” (Raven I 1963: 270). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to be or become mad, rage”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-wurgen “würgen, erwürgen, ersticken (machen)” (Raven I 1963: 271). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-wyrgan*, *ā-wiergan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to strangle, suffocate”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-wurzalōn “ausreißen, entwurzeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 751). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

ir-wurzōn “vertilgen, entwurzeln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 752). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

ir-zagēn “schwach sein, ermatten, erschlaffen, unentschlossen oder verzagt werden, verzagen, sich entkräften, lässig oder träge sein, untätig, verweichlichen, weibisch werden, nicht gegeben sein, entwaffnet, ungerüstet, liederlich” (Raven II 1967: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

*ir-zeigōn*¹ “aufzeigen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 756). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-zellen “auf-, er-, herzählen, erwägen, beschreiben” (Raven I 1963: 276). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-tellan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 28) “to reckon up, count; balance against; tell, enumerate; explain, interpret”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

ir-zennen “zahnlos machen” (Raven I 1963: 277). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-zibōn “zurückbleiben, ermattet” (Raven II 1967: 195). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

*ir-zispen*² “fortschaffen, hinaustreiben” (Raven I 1963: 279). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-zucken “wegnehmen, wegreißen” (Raven I 1963: 280). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-zuckōn “herausnehmen oder -pflücken, ausstreichen, auslesen” (Raven II 1967: 198). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-zurnen “sich erzürnen, in Zorn geraten, ganz unzufrieden oder empört sein” (Raven I 1963: 282). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

ir-zwigōn “auslesen, herauspflücken” (Raven II 1967: 200). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

īarnen, gi-īarnit- “(pret. part.) mit Eisen beschlagen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 313). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *īarnōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

**īarnōn, gi-īarnōt-* “(attested only as pret. part.) mit Eisen beschlagen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 313). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *īnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 207) “to cover with iron”; ON *járna* II (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 325) “to mount with iron”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **īarnōjanan* “to cover or mount with iron”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *īarn, īsan, īser* (Starck and Wells 1990: 312) “Eisen”; OFs. *īern* (Kluge 1989: 172) “Eisen”; OE *īern, īsen, īren* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 207) “iron; fetter; sword, iron weapon”; ON *ísarn, járn* (Kluge 1989: 172) “iron”; Gothic *eisarn* (Kluge 1989: 172) “iron”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **īarnan* (Kluge 1989: 172) “iron”. Loan word from Celtic **īarno-* (Pfeifer I 1989: 344) “iron”: OIr. *iarann, iarn* (Kluge 1989: 172) “iron”; Welsh *haearn, haiarn* (Kluge 1989: 172) “iron”; OCornish *hoern* (Pfeifer I 1989: 344) “iron”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

īēn “zu Eis gefrieren, sich mit Eis belegen” (Raven II 1967: 229). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ī* (Kluge 1989: 172) “Eis”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ita-leiten “ein Leben führen, Zeit verbringen” (Raven I 1963: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

īalen “ausleeren” (Starck and Wells 1990: 314). The following cognate verbs are attested: ModDu *ijdelen* (Grimm dWb III 1862: 390) “eitel sein; leeren”; OE *ā-īllan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 17) “to be or make useless or vain, frustrate, empty, annul; profane; be free from; deprive of”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **īdlijan* “(aus)leeren, eitel machen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *īal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 314) “nichtig, leer, eitel”; OS *īdal* (Kluge 1989: 172) “nichtig, leer, eitel”; OFs. *īdel* (Kluge 1989: 172) “nichtig, leer, eitel”; OE *īdel* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 202) “empty; not possessing, destitute, void, devoid; vain, useless, idle, to no purpose, unemployed”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **īdlaz* (Kluge 1989: 172) “nichtig, leer, eitel”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, ir-*

**itaniuwōn, *itniuwōn* “erneuern, wiederherstellen, wiedergewinnen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ednīwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 99) “to renew, restore, reform”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **edneujōjan* “to renew, restore, do again”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *itaniuwi, itniui* (Starck and Wells 1990: 314)

“aufgefrischt, erneut”; OE *ednāwe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 99) “renewed, new”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **edneujaz* “renewed, refreshed”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

itarucken “wiederkäuen, rücken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 314). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *edreccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 99) “to chew, ruminate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **edrokijan* “to ruminate, chew, move back and forth”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *itarucki* (Starck and Wells 1990: 314) “Schlund”; MLG *edrek*, *idrig* (Starck and Wells 1990: 314) “Schlund, Gurgel, erster Magen der Wiederkäuer”; OE *edroc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 99) “gullet; rumination”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **edrokan* “gullet”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

itawāzen “schelten, mißbilligen, Vorwürfe machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 314). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the related Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

itawāzōn “beschimpfen, schelten, schmähen, Vorwürfe machen” (Raven II 1967: 72). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *edwālian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 100) “to reproach”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **edwāljōjan* “to reproach”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *itawāz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 314) “Schmach, Beschimpfung, Vorwurf”; OE *edwāt* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 100) “reproach, shame, disgrace”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **edwālaz* “reproach, shame”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

iternōn “emporrichten, erheben” (Raven II 1967: 72). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

itlōnōn “vergeltten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 314). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *edlēanian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 99) “to reward, recompense”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **edlaunōjan* “to reward, recompense”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *itlōn* (Schade I 1882: 460) “retributio”; OE *edlēan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 99) “reward, retribution, recompense, requital”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **edlaunan* “reward, retribution”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

J

jagōn “jagen, (mit den Wellen) treiben, verbannen, vertreiben, verfolgen, bedrohen, die Rückzugslinie jemandem abschneiden, Jäger, Jagd, Wildbeute, beifällig murmeln, laut zustimmen” (Raven II 1967: 73). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *jagen* (Kluge 1989: 338) “jagen”; OFs. *jagia* II (Kluge 1989: 338) “jagen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **jagōjan* “jagen”. Further etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

jāzen, jāezzen “ja sagen, bejahen, laut jubeln, zustimmen” (Raven I 1963: 83). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *gēatan, gēitan, gētan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 150) “to say yea, grant, confirm, assent to”; OE *jāta* I (Fritzner II 1954: 237) “to answer yes to; to promise, give something to someone”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **jājanan* “to say yes to, agree to, consent, grant”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *jā* (Starck and Wells 1990: 315) “ja”; OFs. *je* (Lehmann 1986: 211) “ja”; OE *gēa* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 149) “yes, yeah”; ON *já* (Lehmann 1986: 211) “ja”; Gothic *ja* (Lehmann 1986: 211) “yes”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **jā, *ja* particle, interjection “yes, yeah”. Therefore a NWGmc verb (derived from interjection *jā* and formed with intensive suffix -*atjan*).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

jerien “gähren, in Gährung bringen, gähren machen” (Raven I 1963: 307). No cognate verbs are attested. We can tentatively reconstruct an earlier form **jazejan* causative deverbative from strong verb **jesanan* “gähren”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *jesan, gesan* st vb (Kluge 1989: 245) “gären”. Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

jihten “bekennen, zum Geständnis bringen, als wahr bestätigen oder beweisen, etwas als gewiß behaupten, versichern, beteuern, bestimmt erklären” (Raven I 1963: 83). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *jiht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 83) “Lobpreis”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

jufen, juven “brüllen, toben, tosen, schreien, ausrufen” (Raven I 1963: 83). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

jucken “jucken, kratzen, ritzen, scharren, reiben” (Raven I 1963: 83). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *jukkian* I (Onions 1966: 488) “jucken”; OE *giccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 153) “to itch”. We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **jukkjan* intensive gemination “jucken”. Further etymology unclear.

juckilōn “jucken” (Raven II 1967: 74). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **jukk(a)lōjan* frequentative / continuative deverbative from WGmc weak verb **jukkjan(an)* (see under *jucken*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

jungen “verjüngen, erneuern” (Raven I 1963: 84). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *jung* (Starck and Wells 1990: 318) “jung, neu”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

jungēn “wieder jung werden, sich (wieder) verjüngen, (vom Haar) wieder blond werden” (Raven II 1967: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *jungen*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

juppezen “heulen, laut schreien, jauchzen, jubeln” (Raven I 1963: 84). No cognate verbs are attested. Precise etymology unclear. Probably an intensive deverbative, but no reliable source can be found. Possibly ultimately from Med.Latin *iubilium* (Duden dUwb 1989: 791) “Jubel” < Late Latin *iubilium* (Duden dUwb 1989: 791) “Jauchzen, Frohlocken”.

jursen “zornig sein, sich ärgern” (Raven I 1963: 84). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

K

kahhezzen “hell, laut auflachen, ein schallendes (rohes) Gelächter erheben, eine helle Lache aufschlagen” (Raven I 1963: 84). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ceahhettan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 65) “to laugh loud or in a cackling manner”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kahhatjan* “to laugh loudly”, intensive deverbative from a weak verb **kahhjan* or similar attested in MHG *kachen* (Lexer I 1872: 1492) “laut lachen”. Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

kahhizōn “laut lachen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 319). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is probably best considered a class II deverbative from the earlier class I weak verb (see under **kahhezzen**). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

kalawen “die Kopfhare abschneiden oder abrasieren” (Raven I 1963: 84). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kalo* (Kluge 1989: 346) “kahl”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

kalawōn “kahl machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 319). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under **kalawen**. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

kallōn “heraussagen, viel und laut sprechen, schwatzen” (Raven II 1967: 74). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ceallian* II but possibly loan verb from ON (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 65) “to call, shout”; ON *kalla* II (de Vries 1962: 298) “nennen, sagen, rufen”. cf. OFs. *kella* I (de Vries 1962: 298). We can therefore reconstruct a NWGmc **kallōjanan* (Onions 1966: 137) “to call”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to have undergone assimilation of ‘s’ from an earlier IE **gal-so-* (Pokorny I 1956: 350). This latter is an ‘so’-extension from the IE *√*gal-* (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “rufen, schreien”, from which base the following may be derived: OE *hilde-calle* (Onions 1966: 137) “war-herald”; Welsh *galw* (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “rufen, vorladen”; MLr *gall* (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “Ruhm, Schwan”; OCS *glasъ* so-extension (Onions 1966: 137) “voice”; OCS *glagolъ* (Onions 1966: 137) “word”; Lith. *galsas* so-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “Widerhall”. Although confined to NWGmc and despite the absence of suitably attested verbal forms outside Gmc to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb, assignment to a pre-Gmc stratum is still the most convincing etymology for this verb.

kaltēn “kalt werden, erkalten” (Raven II 1967: 230). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kaldōn* II, originally class III? (Starck and Wells 1990: 320) “eiskalt werden”; OE *cealdian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 65) “to become cold”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kaldējan* “to grow or become cold”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under ***kaltōn**). Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

***kaltōn** “kalt sein oder werden”. MHG *kalten, kalden* (Lexer III 1872: 1499) “kalt werden, erkalten”. cf. OHG *kaltēn* II. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kaldōn* II, originally class III? (Starck and Wells 1990: 320) “eiskalt werden”; OE *cealdian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 65) “to become cold”; ON *kalda* II, originally class III? (de Vries 1962: 298) “kalt werden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kaldōjanan* “to grow or become cold”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kalt* (Kluge 1989: 349) “kalt”; OS *kald* (Kluge 1989: 349); OFs. *kald* (Kluge 1989: 349) “kalt”; OE *ceald* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 65) “cold, cool”; ON *kaldr* (Kluge 1989: 349) “kalt”; Gothic *kalds* (Kluge

1989: 349) “kalt”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **kaldaz* (Kluge 1989: 349) “kalt”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

kampfen “Kriegsdienste tun, Soldat sein, dienen, kämpfen” (Raven I 1963: 84). The following cognate verbs are attested: cf. OE *campian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 64) “to fight, contend against”; ON *keppa* (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 337) “Kraft zeigen, kämpfen, wetteifern” (Raven I 1963: 84). We can therefore reconstruct a NWGmc **kampijanan* “to fight”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kamph* (Starck and Wells 1990: 321) “Wettstreit, Kampf”; OFs. *kamp*, *komp* (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 144) “Kampf”; OE *camp*, *comp* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 64) “contest, war, battle, combat, struggle; field, plain”; ON *kapp* (Kluge 1989: 350) “Eifer, Streit, Wettkampf”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kampaz* (possibly earlier **kampuz*) “battle, battle-field”. < Latin *campus* (Kluge 1989: 350) “Feld, Schlachtfeld”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

kann “kennen, sich verstehen auf, vermögen” (Seebold 1970: 289). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kan* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 289) “kennen, wissen”; OFs. *kan* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 289) “kennen, können”; OE *can* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 289) “know, can”; ON *kunna* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 289) “kenne, weiß, kann”; Gothic *kann* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 289) “know, recognize”. These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **kann* (Seebold 1970: 289) “kann, vermöge”. This verb can be traced back to an IE $\sqrt{*gen-}$, **genə-*, **gnē-*, **gnō-* (Pokorny I 1956: 376) “erkennen, kennen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OIr. *-ginn* (Seebold 1970: 290) “wissen”; Greek *γέγωνα* (Seebold 1970: 290) “gibt sich zu erkennen, verkündet”; Skt *jānāmi* (Seebold 1970: 290) “weiß”; Lith. *pa-zistu*, *zinti* (Seebold 1970: 290) “kennen, kennenlernen”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present).

kapfēn “(+gen.) auf etwas verwundert schauen, herabschauen, nach einem anschauen, spähen, die Augen auf etwas richten, den Kopf nach hinten beugen, blicken, gaffen” (Raven II 1967: 230). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **kappēan* intensive gemination “to look at something intensively, closely, with awe”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. It is possibly an intensive deverbative, as indicated by the intensive gemination. A possible derivational base may be found in the complex based on the root $\sqrt{*kap-}$, which is confined to Gmc and which is possibly of imitative origin. Verbs deriving from this base include the following: MLG *kapen* (Pokorny I 1959: 349) “gaffen, schauen”; OS *up-kapen* (Pokorny I 1959: 349) “eminere”; OE *capian up* II (Pokorny I 1959: 349) “aufblicken”; ON *kópa* with ablaut (Pokorny I 1959: 349) “starren, gaffen”. As the above root has no parallels outside Gmc, this verb cannot be considered a pre-Gmc verb. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūf-*

kapitulōn, *kapitalōn* “schreiben” (Raven II 1967: 74). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kapitul*, *kapital* (Starck and Wells 1990: 321) “Titel, Überschrift, Inschrift”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

karōn “beklagen, beweinen, wehklagen, (be)trauern” (Raven II 1967: 74). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *karōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 215). OE *cearian*, *carian* II (Lehmann 1986: 215) “to care for, be anxious, grieve”; Gothic *karon* II (Lehmann 1986: 215) “to be concerned”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **karōjanan* (Onions 1966: 146) “to care for, be anxious, grieve”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kara* (Starck and Wells 1990: 322) “Wehklage, Heulen, Reue”; OS *kara* (Lehmann 1986: 215) “care”; OE *cearu*, *caru* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 65) “care, concern, anxiety, sorrow”; ON *kor* (Lehmann 1986: 215) “sickbed; (poetic) pain”; Gothic *kara* (Lehmann 1986: 215) “care”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **karō* “care, anxiety, sorrow”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

karrōn “knarren, knirschen, toben” (Raven II 1967: 74). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **karrōjan* (Seebold 1970: 293) class II deverbative from strong verb **kerranan* (Seebold 1970: 293) “knarren”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *kerran* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 293) “knarren”; OE *curran* st. vb pret. part. (Seebold 1970: 293) “(Anrede an eine Pflanze): die Wagen, die über dir knarrten”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

kastōn “Edelsteine mit einer Einfassung versehen, sie einfassen oder zusammenfügen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 324). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kasto* (Starck and Wells 1990: 324) “Vertiefung zur Einfassung von Edelsteinen, kornspeicher”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *in-*

kebisōn “kebsen, Konkubinat treiben” (Raven II 1967: 75). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kebis* (Starck and Wells 1990: 324) “Kebse, Konkubine, Buhldirne”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

kelisonōn, gi-kelisonā

“mit Stiefe versehen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 326). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kelisa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 325) “Stiefel”. Therefore an OHG denominative past participle construction (with n-extension).

kempen, kemmen “Wolle krempeln, kämmen, kammtragend (Raven I 1963: 84). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kembian* I (de Vries 1962: 306) “kämmen”; OE *cemban* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 66) “to comb”; ON *kemba* I (de Vries 1962: 306) “kämmen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kambijanan* “to comb”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kamb* (Starck and Wells 1990: 320) “Kamm, Helmbusch, Kranzgesims”; OS *komb* (Kluge 1989: 350) “Kamm”; OE *camb* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 64) “comb, crest of a cock, crest or top of a helmet”; ON *kambr* (Kluge 1989: 350) “Kamm, Karde; gezackter Bergrücken; Hahn”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kambaz* (Kluge 1989: 350) “Kamm”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

**kennen* “kennen, erkennen”. MHG *kennen* I (Lexer I 1872: 1548) “kennen, erkennen”. cf. OHG *kunnēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ant-kennian* I (Seebold 1970: 289) “kennen”; OFs. *kanna, kenna* I (Seebold 1970: 289) “kennen”; OE *cennan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 66) “to beget, conceive, create, bring forth; (bring from the mind), to declare, choose, ascribe, clear, prove”; ON *kenna* I (Seebold 1970: 289) “bekannt machen, wahrnehmen, genießen”; Gothic *kannjan* I (Seebold 1970: 289) “bekannt machen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **kannejanan* (Seebold 1970: 289) “bekannt machen”, causative deverbative from preterite-present verb **kann* (see under *kann*). Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, forabi-, gi-, int-, ir-*

kēren “eine andere Richtung geben, wenden, anwenden, ablenken, kehren, verdrehen, verschlectern” (Raven I 1963: 86). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kērian* I (Kluge 1989: 365) “kehren, wenden”; OFs. *kēra* I (Kluge 1989: 365) “kehren, wenden”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kaizjan* “to turn”. This WGmc form has been affected by grammatical change and was originally NWGmc **kaisjanan* “to turn, bend, change”, attested in ON *keisa* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 821) “in die Höhe heben, hochtragen, biegen, zusammenfallen”. The derivational pattern of this is unclear. It derives ultimately from IE **geis-* (Pokorny I 1956: 355), an 's'-extension from IE √**gei-* (Pokorny I 1956: 354) “drehen, biegen” (occurs only in extended form), from which base the following may also be derived: ON *keikr* < **geig(h)* (Pokorny I 1956: 354) “mit zurückgebogenem Oberkörper, mit gehobenem Kopf und Schultern”; Lith. *geibūs* < **geibh* (Pokorny I 1956: 354) “plump, ungeschickt”; Latin *gibber* < **geibh* (Pokorny I 1956: 354) “buckelig, höckerig”; Skt *jinah* < **geig(h)* (Pokorny I 1956: 354) “schief, schräg, nach unten gewandt, quer liegend, gebeugt, schielend”; OE *cierran*,

cerran, cyrran I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 68) “to turn; to be turned; to turn oneself, go back, return; persuade, convert; translate”, despite being cognate semantically with **kaizjan*, differs in its vocalism, deriving from a variant form **karrjan*, **karzjan* (Pfeifer II 1989: 821). As there is no evidence for an 's'-extension outside Gmc, such an extension must be considered a NWGmc formation. The verb cannot therefore be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*, *ana-*, *ana-gi-*, *bi-*, *dana-*, *dana-bi-*, *dana-ir-*, *dara-*, *dara-aba-*, *fir-*, *gagan-*, *hera-*, *hintar-*, *hintarot-bi-*, *ingagan-*, *ir-*, *missi-*, *nidar-bi-*, *nidar-gi-*, *ubar-*, *ūf-*, *ūf-gi-*, *umbi-*, *ūz-*, *widar-*, *widar-bi-*, *widar-gi-*, *zuo-*

kerien “kehren, fegen, hinwegfegen” (Raven I 1963: 308). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *kēren* (Pfeifer II 1989: 822) “fege”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **karijan* “to sweep, make clean”. Probably from a nominal source similar to that attested: OHG *ubar-kara* (Pfeifer II 1989: 822) “Unreinigkeit, Unflat; Kehrlicht”; Mod.Ice. *kar* (Pfeifer II 1989: 822) “Schmutz”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

kestigōn “züchtigen, kasteien, schelten” (Raven II 1967: 75). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kestiga*, *kestigī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 328) “Züchtigung, Rügen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ketinōn “fesseln, mit Ketten belegen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 75). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ketin(n)a* (Starck and Wells 1990: 329) “Kette, Halskette”. < Latin *catēna* (Kluge 1989: 367) “Kette”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

kindōn “Kinder erzeugen oder gebären, fruchtbar machen” (Raven II 1967: 75). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kind* (Starck and Wells 1990: 330) “Kind, Sohn, Nachkomme”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

kirnen “dreschen, entkernen, kernig werden” (Raven I 1963: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kern(o)* (Kluge 1989: 366) “Kern”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *untar-*

kizzilōn, *kuzzilōn* “kitzeln, jucken, nach etwas lüstern sein” (Raven II 1967: 75). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kitilōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 333) “kitzeln, jucken”; OE *citelian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 69) “to tickle”; ON *kitla* II (de Vries 1962: 310) “kitzeln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kitilōjanan*, **kutilōjanan* with expressive interchange i:u (Kluge 1989: 372) “kitzeln”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. The verb may be an 'l'-extension deverbative from an earlier verb which derives, in turn, ultimately from IE **geid-* (Pokorny I 1956: 356) “stechen, kitzeln?”, from which base the following may also be derived: Arm. *kitak* (Pokorny I 1956: 356) “Stich, Punkt”. This etymology, however, rests on very little supporting data and is not entirely convincing. It certainly does not present enough evidence to allow for this verb to be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

klaffōn, *klappōn* “Geräusch machen, lärmern, laut schallen, rasseln, krachen, klirren, rascheln, krachen, donnern, zerschlagen, knarren” (Raven II 1967: 76). cf. OHG *klappen* I (Raven I 1963: 92). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *klappen* II (Onions 1966: 179) “klapfen”; OFs. *klappia* II (Onions 1966: 179) “klapfen”; OE *clappian* II (Onions 1966: 179) “to throb, beat”; ON *klappa* II (Onions 1966: 179) “schlagen, pochen, klopfen, streicheln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **klappōjanan* expressive gemination “Geräusch machen”. This

verb stands in ablaut relation to *klopfōn*, but no convincing further etymology can be found. It probably belongs to a Gmc onomatopoeic complex of imitative origin.

klagōn “sich beklagen, worüber klagen, sich Sorge machen, sich mit etwas entschuldigen” (Raven II 1967: 76). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *klagōn* II (Pfeifer II 1989: 839) “klagen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **klagōjan* “klagen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *klaga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 333) “Klage, Klagen”; OS *klaga* (Pfeifer II 1989: 839) “Klage”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **klagō* (Kluge 1989: 328) “Klage”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

klahezzen “klatschen, schlagen, mit den Händen Beifall klatschen, froh sein” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **klahhatjan* “klatschen”. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are uncertain. It is possibly an intensive deverbative (with change of medial 'k' to 'h') from a verb belonging to the complex cited under OHG *klecken*. This is, however, by no means certain. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

klammezzen “rauschen, rasseln, klappern, prasseln, sausen” (Raven I 1963: 92). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably an intensive deverbative but a suitable derivational base cannot be found.

klapfen “klirren, rasseln, krachen” (Raven I 1963: 92).

cf. OHG *klaffōn*, *klapfōn* II (Raven II 1967: 76). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate forms in related Gmc languages belong to class II this verb is probably best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb *klaffōn*, *klapfōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

klāwen “klauen, kratzen, scharren, jucken” (Raven I 1963: 92). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *kleyja* I (Seebold 1970: 296) “kratzen, jucken”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **klaujan* “kratzen, jucken, klauen”, class I weak deverbative from strong verb **klaujan* (Seebold 1970: 295) “kratzen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *clāwan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 70) “to claw”; ON *klá* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 295) “kratzen, reiben”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

klebēn “haften, anhaften, kleben, klebrig werden, sich setzen, festsitzen” (Raven II 1967: 231). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *klebōn* II (Kluge 1989: 375). OE *cleofian*, *clifian* II (Kluge 1989: 375) “to cleave, adhere, stick”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **klibējan* (Seebold 1970: 297), class III durative deverbative from strong verb **kleibanan* (Seebold 1970: 297) “haften”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *gi-klīban* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 336) “festhaften”; OS *klīban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 296) “kleben”; OFs. *klīva* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 296) “hängen, klettern”; OE *clīfan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 70) “to cleave, adhere”; ON *klifa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 296) “klettern; klimmen”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zisamane-*, *zuo-*

kleiben “fest machen, befestigen, ankleben” (Raven I 1963: 92). cf. OHG *klebēn* III (Raven II 1967: 231). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **klaibejan* (Seebold 1970: 297) causative deverbative from strong verb **kleibanan* (Seebold 1970: 296) “haften” (see under *klebēn*).

Therefore an OHG causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ana-gi-*, *bi-*, *dara-*, *gi-*

***kleimen** “beflecken, besudeln, schmieren”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *klēmen* (Onions 1966: 179) “to daub, plaster”; OE *clæman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 69) “to smear, anoint, daub, plaster, caulk”; ON *kleima* I (de Vries 1962: 315) “to daub, smear, dabble”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **klaimijanan* “to smear, daub, plaster, caulk”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kleim* (Starck and Wells 1990: 294) “Leim”; OE *clām* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 70) “paste, mortar, mud, clay”; ON *klám* (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 342) “filthy or obscene language”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **klaimaz* “clay, mud, mortar”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

klein-kāsōn “fein reden, erörtern, Gedanken entwickeln” (Raven II 1967: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *klein(ī)* (Starck and Wells 1990: 334) “schlank, zart, klein”; cf. OHG *kāsōn* II “sich besprechen, reden, aussagen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

klecken “treffen, knicken” (Raven I 1963: 308). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **klakkijan* intensive gemination (Kluge 1989: 375) “(ursprünglich Schallverb) krachen, klatschen > ausreichen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may possibly be an intensive deverbative which derives from a verb belonging to a Gmc onomatopoeic complex *√*klak-* “rufen, schreien”. Verbs belonging to this complex include the following: MHG *klac* (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “Händeklatschen, knall, Krach, Riß; Klecks, Fleck”; MLG *klacken* (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “Kleckse machen”; OHG *klac* (Pfeifer II: 846) “Riß, Spalt, Knall, Krach, Klecks, Fleck”; OE *clacu* (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “injury”; Mod.Engl. *to clack* (Pokorny I 1956: 350). ON *klaka* (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “zwitschern, gackern”; ON *klakkr* (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “Klecks, Klumpen, Wölkchen”. This Gmc complex can be traced back to an IE **glag* (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “rufen, schreien”, from which base the following may be derived: OCS *glagolb* (Pfeifer II 1989: 846) “Wort”; Greek γλάζω (Pfeifer II: 846) “ich lasse einen Gesang erklingen”. **glag* itself is a g-extensions from IE *√*gal-* (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “rufen, schreien” (see under *kallōn*). Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zi-*

klengilōn, klingilōn “klingen, klirren, plätschern, das Wohlklingen, der Gesang, die Litanei oder Sängerei” (Raven II 1967: 77). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **klengilōjan* class II frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension) from strong verb **klenganan* (Seebold 1970: 299) “klingen” (see under *klengōn*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (with l-extension).

klengisōn “klirren, tönen, rauschen, zischen” (Raven II 1967: 77). We can therefore reconstruct a **klengisōjan* (Seebold 1970: 300) class II frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with s-extension) from strong verb **klenganan* (Seebold 1970: 299) “klingen” (see under *klengōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation (formed with s-extension).

klengōn “klingen” (Raven II 1967: 77). We can therefore reconstruct a **klengōjan* class II deverbative from strong verb **klenganan* (Seebold 1970: 299) “klingen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *klingan* st. vb, pres only (Seebold 1970: 300) “klingen”; MLG *klingen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 300) “klingen”; MDu. *clinghen* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 300) “klingen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

***klenken** “binden, verfesten, haften”. MHG *klenken* (Lexer I 1872: 1620) “schlingen, flechten, verflechten”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *be-clencan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 36) “to hold fast”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **klankjan* class I deverbative (with expressive devoicing of 'g' to 'k') from strong verb **klenganan* (Seebold 1970: 300) “sich zusammenziehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *klingan* st. vb pres only

(Seebold 1970: 300) “sich kräuseln”; OE *clingan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 70) “to stick together, cling; shrink, wither, pine”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *fir-*, *int-*

klockōn “klopfen, pochen, schlagen, betasten” (Raven II 1967: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **klokkōjan* intensive gemination “klopfen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It probably represents an intensive deverbative formed with an expressive k-extension and with o-grade ablaut, from an otherwise unattested source which derives ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*gal-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 350) “rufen, schreien” (see under *kallōn*). Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

klopfōn “klopfen, besonders an die Tür klopfen, (die Brust) durchzucken” (Raven II 1967: 78). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *kloppen* (Kluge 1989: 379). MDu *cloppen* (Kluge 1989: 379). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **kloppōjan* intensive gemination “klopfen”. This verb stands in ablaut relation to *klaffōn*, *klapfōn*, but no convincing further etymology can be found. It probably belongs to a Gmc onomatopoeic complex of imitative origin.

klubōn “abpflücken, klauben, seufzen, naschen oder lüstern nach” (Raven II 1967: 78). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *klūven* (Pfeifer II 1989: 844). MDu *clūven* (Pfeifer II 1989: 844). We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **klubōjan* “mühsam und einzeln zusammensuchen, auflesen, von der Schale befreien, pflücken” class II zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **kleubanan* (Seebold 1970: 301) “spalten”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *klioban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 301) “spalten, klieben”; OS *klōf* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 301) “spaltete sich”; OE *clēofan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 70) “to cleave, split, separate”; ON *klúfa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 301) “spalten”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

knāen “kennen, wissen, verstehen”. Attested in Old East Low Franconian *knēian* (Starck and Wells 1990: 337) “kennen, wissen”. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **knējan* (Seebold 1970: 303) class I weak deverbative from strong verb **knēanan* (Seebold 1970: 302) “kennen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OS *be-knēgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 303) “teilhaftig werden”; OE *cnāwan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 71) “to know, perceive; acknowledge; declare”; ON *kná* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 302) “können”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

knisten “zerdrücken, zerreiben, zermalmen, zerbröckeln, abnutzen, herausschlagen, -stoßen, zerschmettern, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

kniwen “knien” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *knio* (Kluge 1989: 383) “Knie”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

knupfen, *knuffen* “knüpfen, verknüpfen, flechten, binden, fesseln, von unten anknüpfen, anbinden oder befestigen” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *knopf* (Starck and Wells 1990: 338) “Knoten, Knopf, Knauf”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-gi-*, *bi-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *untar-*, *zisamene-*, *zuo-gi-*

knussen “stoßen, zerstoßen, zusammenschlagen, zerstampfen, schlagen, kneten, quetschen” (Raven I 1963: 308). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *cnyssan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 72) “to press, toss, strike, hew to pieces, dash, crash (together), beat; overcome, overwhelm, oppress”; Norw. *knysia* (Pokorny I 1956: 372) “zermalmen”; cf. ON *knosa* II, originally class I? (Pokorny I 1956: 372) “kneifen, schlagen, zerbrechen, mit Schlägen mißhandeln”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **knusjanan* “to press, crush”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE **gn-eu-s-* (Pokorny I 1959: 372), from which base the following may also be derived: OE *cnyllan* I <**knuzljanan* I-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 372) “to toll a bell; strike, knock”; ON *knylla* I <**knuzljanan* I-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 372) “schlagen, stoßen”; ON *knúska* II k-extension (Pokorny I 1959: 372) “schlagen”. Extension from IE **√gen-* (Pokorny I 1959: 370) “zusammendrücken, kneifen, zusammenknicken; Zusammengedrücktes, Gebaltes” (occurs only in extended form). The IE **gn-eu-s-* only appears to have been productive in Gmc and there are, consequently, no IE parallels to allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ana-bi-*, *bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, *zi-*, *zuo-gi-*

koborōn “erlangen, erreichen; (reflex.) sich erholen, Kräfte gewinnen, sich wieder sammeln” (Schade I 1882: 503). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb probably derives from a Romance dialect such as Provençal *(re)cobrar* (Meyer-Lübke 1935: 591) “wieder erlangen”, which in turn derives from Latin *recuperāre* (Meyer-Lübke 1935: 591) “wieder erlangen”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *ir-*, *ubar-*

kohhōn “kochen, siedeln, Speisen zubereiten” (Raven II 1967: 78). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. MLG *koken* probably loan verb from High German (Kluge 1989: 387). cf. MDu *coken* probably loan verb from High German (Kluge 1989: 387). cf. OFs. *kokia* probably loan verb from High German (Kluge 1989: 387). < Late Latin *cocere* (Meyer-Lübke 1935: 205) “kochen”. < Latin *coquere* (Meyer-Lübke 1935: 205) “kochen”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

korēn “kosten, proben, versuchen” (Schützeichel 1969: 99). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **kuzējan* class III durative deverbative from strong verb **keusanan* (Seebold 1970: 293) “erproben” (see under *korōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

korōn “(+gen., acc.) versuchen, prüfen, kosten, begehren, Verlangen tragen, nachspüren, genießen, erleiden, zum (leiblichen oder geistigen) Genuß kommen” (Raven II 1967: 79). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **kuzōjan* (Seebold 1970: 294) class II deverbative from strong verb **keusanan* (Seebold 1970: 293) “erproben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *kiosan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 293) “wählen, prüfen”; OS *kiosan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 293) “wählen, ausersehen”; OFs. *kiasa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 293) “wählen”; OE *cēosan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 67) “to choose, seek out, select; decide, test, accept, approve”; ON *kjósa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 293) “wählen; wünschen; abmachen, zaubern (letzttere Bedeutung eigentlich) einen Gegenstand zur Zauberei wählen”; Gothic *kiosan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 293) “prüfen, erproben”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

korōnōn “krönen” (Raven II 1967: 79). Cognates None.

The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *korōna* (Starck and Wells 1990: 342) “Krone, Kranz”. < Latin *corōna* (Pfeifer II 1989: 936) “Krone; Kranz”. < Greek κορώνη (Pfeifer II 1989: 936) “Bogenende, Ring, Kranz, Krone”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

kōsōn “sprechen, (sich) besprechen, heraussagen, erörtern, einreden, beistehen, Gespräche führen, plaudern, anführen, behaupten, trotzig reden, prahlen, sich brüsten, geheim verhandeln, feindlich gesinnt sein” (Raven II 1967: 80). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kōsa* (Kluge 1989: 406) “Gespräch, Erzählung”. < Latin *causa* (Kluge 1989: 406) “Rechtssache”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *hintar-*, *widar-*

kossōn “küssen” (Raven II 1967: 81). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *cossian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 73) “to kiss”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kossōjan* “to kiss”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kus*, *kos* (Kluge 1989: 421) “Kuß”; OS *kus(s)* (Kluge 1989: 421) “Kuß”; OFs. *koss* (Kluge 1989: 421) “Kuß”; OE *coss* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 73) “kiss”; ON *koss* (Kluge 1989: 421) “Kuß”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kussuz* intensive gemination (Kluge 1989: 421) “kiss”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb. This verb may, however, be a class II primary verb deriving ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*ku-}$, **kus-* (see under *kussen*). Alternatively, it may represent a class II deverbative from the earlier class I verb.

kostōn “prüfen, versuchen, bedenken” (Raven II 1967: 81). cf. OHG *kusten* I (Raven I 1963: 100). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kostōn* II (Kluge 1989: 407). OE *costian* II (Kluge 1989: 407) “to tempt, try, prove, examine”; ON *kosta* II (Kluge 1989: 407) “erproben, sich anstrengen, anwenden, nachstellen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kustōjanan* “to attempt, try, decide, test out”. This verb is derived from either of two nominal bases. Firstly: OHG *kost* (Seebold 1970: 294) “Gutdenken, Rat”; OE *cost* (Seebold 1970: 294) “option, choice, possibility; manner, way; condition”; ON *kostr* (Seebold 1970: 294) “Wahl, Möglichkeit, Entschluß”; Gothic *kustus* (Seebold 1970: 294) “Prüfung, Beweis”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **kustuz* masc. (Seebold 1970: 294). Or, alternatively, it may be a The verb is derived from the nominal base: OHG *kust* (Seebold 1970: 294) “Beschaffenheit, Reinheit”; OS *kust* (Seebold 1970: 294) “Wahl, Entscheidung”; OFs. *kest* (Seebold 1970: 294) “Wahl, Satzung”; OE *cyst* (Seebold 1970: 294) “free-will, choice; the best of anything, the choicest; virtue, goodness”; Gothic *ga-kusts* (Seebold 1970: 294) “Prüfung, Beweis”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **kustiz* fem. (Seebold 1970: 294). Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

kotezzen “abwaschen” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably an intensive deverbative from an unattested source.

koufen “kaufen, handeln, erhandeln, erstehen, austauschen, vergleichen, zurückkaufen, erkaufen, pachten, zusammen-, aufkaufen” (Raven I 1963: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate forms in related Gmc languages belong to class II this verb is probably best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb *kaufōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

koufōn “kaufen, Handel treiben” (Raven II 1967: 81). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kōpian* II (Kluge 1989: 363). OE *cēapian* II (Pfeifer II 1989: 814) “to bargain, chaffer, trade, buy, bribe”; ON *kaupa* II (Kluge 1989: 363) “kaufen”; Gothic *kaupōn* II (Kluge 1989: 363) “to buy”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **kaupōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 363) “kaufen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *koufo* (Pfeifer II 1989: 814) “Händler”; OE *cēpa* (Pfeifer II 1989: 814) “small tradesman, innkeeper”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **kaupan* n-stem (Pfeifer II 1989: 814) “Händler”. < Latin *caupo* (gen. *caupōnis*) (Pfeifer II 1989: 814) “small tradesman, innkeeper”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb. Alternatively, this verb may be a Gmc loan verb from the Latin verb *caupōnari* (Kluge 1989: 363) “sachern”.

krademen “rauschen, sausen, rasseln, klappern, prasseln, lärmern, ertönen, toben, tosen” (Raven I 1963: 96). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kradam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 343) “Krachen, Getöse”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

krāen, krāwen, krāgen “krähen, Geräusch machen, lärmern, toben, tosen, ertönen, singen, schwatzen, plappern, plaudern” (Raven I 1963: 96). cf. OHG *krāwōn* II (Raven II 1967: 81). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *krāian* I (Seebold 1970: 305) “krähen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **krējan* (Seebold 1970: 305) “krähen”, class I weak deverbative from strong verb **krēanan* (Seebold 1970: 305) “singen, krähen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *crāwan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 74) “to crow as a cock”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

kraftēn “Kraft bekommen, kräftig werden” (Raven II 1967: 231). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *kreften*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

kragilōn, krakilōn, krahhilōn “schwatzen, plappern, kläffen” (Raven II 1967: 81). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **kragilōjan, *krakilōjan* with expressive consonant variation, class II frequentative deverbative formed with l-extension from WGmc weak verb **krakōjan(an)* “krachen” (see under *krahhōn*). Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

krahhēn “erschüttern” (Raven I 1963: 96). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate forms in related Gmc languages belong to class II this verb is probably best regarded as a class I deverbative from the class II weak verb *krahhōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

krahhōn “krachen, knistern, stöhnen” (Raven II 1967: 81). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *kracken, krāken, krachen* (Pfeifer II 1989: 919). MDu *crāken* (Pfeifer II 1989: 919). OE *cracian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 74) “to resound, crack”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **krakōjan* “krachen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It probably represents a guttural extension (possibly affective), which derives ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*ger-}$, extended form **grā-* (Pfeifer II 1989: 919) “= ‘heiser schreien’ (NWGmc **kra-* nicht zu \bar{o} gewandeltem alten \bar{a} durch neuerliche Nachahmung des a-farbigen Rabengekrächzes)” (Pokorny I 1956: 384)), from which base the following may also be derived: OE *crāwan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 305) “to crow as a cock”; Lith. *gioju* (Pokorny I 1956: 384) “krächzen”; OCS *grajo, grajati* (Pokorny I 1956: 384) “krächzen”; Skt *garjati* (Pfeifer II 1989: 919) “brüllt, brummt, tobt, tost”. As the verb is confined to WGmc and as the attested IE parallels are not formed with any guttural extension, such an extension must be regarded as a later innovation. The verb cannot, therefore, be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

krapfōn, gi-krapfōt “mit Haken versehen, (vom Panzer) hakenformig” (Raven II 1967: 81). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *krapfo, kraffo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 345) “Haken, Widerhaken, Krapfengebäck”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

krāwōn “schnattern, krähen, krächzen” (Raven II 1967: 81). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **krēwōjan* developent of intervocalic ‘w’ glide is secondary

“krähen”, class II deverbative from strong verb **krēanan* (Seebold 1970: 305) “singen, krähen” (see under *krāen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

krazzōn “kratzen, zerkratzen, mit der Folterkralle zerfleischen, reizen, zusammenscharren” (Raven II 1967: 81). The following cognate verbs are attested: OSwed. *kratta* II (Pokorny I 1956: 405) “(zer)kratzen”; cf. MHG *kretzen* umlaut indicates origin in class I (Kluge 1989: 405). We can therefore reconstruct a NWGmc **krattōjanan* intensive gemination “kratzen”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. It may possibly derive from an IE $\sqrt{*gred-}$, **grod-* (Pokorny I 1956: 405) “kratzen”, from which base the following may also be derived: ON *krota* (<**grd*) (Pokorny I 1956: 405) “kratzen”; OHG *krizzōn* II with expressive vocalism (Pokorny I 1956: 405) “einritzen”; OHG *kreiz* (Pokorny I 1956: 405) “Kreis (<**eingeritzter Zauberkreis*)”; Alb. *gërrusë*, *gërresë*, *krūs(ë)* (Pokorny I 1956: 405) “Schabeisen”; Alb. *gërrüej*, *gërüj* (Pokorny I 1956: 405) “kratze, schabe”. The uncertain etymology of this verb and the lack of suitable IE parallels mean that this verb cannot be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore a NWGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*, *widar-*

kreften “anfachen, beleben” (Raven I 1963: 96). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *cræftan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 74) “to exercise a craft, build; bring about, contrive”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kraftijan* “to use a craft”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kraft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 344) “Macht, Kraft, Vermögen”; OS *kraft*, *kraht* (Kluge 1989: 408) “Macht, Kraft, Vermögen”; OFs. *krefit*, *kraft* (Kluge 1989: 408) “Macht, Kraft, Vermögen”; OE *cræft* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 74) “power, might, strength as of body; craft of mind, cunning, knowledge, science, talent, ability, faculty, excellence, virtue”; ON *kraptr* (Kluge 1989: 408) “Kraft, Tüchtigkeit, bes. übernatürlicher Kraft”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **kraftiz* fem. (Kluge 1989: 408) “Macht, Kraft”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

kregēn “brausen, lärmern” (Raven II 1967: 231). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *krēg*, *krēge*, *krā* (Lexer I 1872: 1699) “Krähe”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

kresamōn, *gi-kresamōt* “mit geweihtem Salböle gesalbt” (Raven II 1967: 82). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kresamo*, *krisamo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 346) “Chrisam, Salböl”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

krinnōn, *gi-krinnōt* “gekerbt, mit scharfen Spitzen versehen, gezahnt” (Raven II 1967: 82). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *krinna* (Starck and Wells 1990: 347) “Kerbe, Einschnitt ins Kerbholz”. Therefore an OHG denominative preterite participle construction.

krizzōn “einritzen” (Pokorny I 1956: 405). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **krettōjan*, **krittōjan* intensive gemination and expressive vocalism “einritzen”. The etymology of this verb is uncertain. It may possibly derive from an IE $\sqrt{*gred-}$, **grod-* (Pokorny I 1956: 405) “kratzen” (see under *krazzōn*). The uncertain etymology of this verb, its confinement to OHG, and the lack of suitable IE parallels mean that this verb cannot be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

krockezzen “krächzen, das Krächzen vom Raben und Waldeseln” (Raven I 1963: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OE *cracettan* I with variant ablaut grade (Kluge 1989: 408) “to croak”, which allows us to reconstruct a **kruckatjan* intensive gemination “krächzen”, class I intensive deverbative with zero ablaut grade from a WGmc class II weak verb **krakōjan*

“krachen” which is attested in the following: OHG *krahhōn* II (Raven II 1967: 81) “krachen, stöhnen”; OE *cracian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 74) “to resound”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

krōnen “zustimmen, schwatzen, plappern, plaudern, ertönen, laut erschallen, widerhallen, laut verkündigen, predigen, (sich) rühmen, prahlen, sich etwas Fremdes aneignen oder zuschreiben, vernehmen lassen, ersuchen, bitten, ansprechen, viel sprechen” (Raven I 1963: 97). The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu. *krōnen* (Barnhardt 1988: 236) “to lament, mourn, groan”; Mid.Engl. *to crownen, crounen* (Barnhardt 1988: 236) “bellow, roar, rumble”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **krōnjan* “to hum, sing or murmur in a low tone; chatter, prattle”. Etymology uncertain. Probably of imitative origin.

krouwōn “zerschneiden, zerteilen, wieder aufkratzen” (Raven II 1967: 82). The following cognate verbs are attested: MDu *crauwen, crouwen* (Pfeifer II 1989: 925) “kratzen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **krau(w)ōjan* “kratzen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut o-grade of IE **greu-*, **grū-* (Pfeifer II 1989: 925) “Zusammengekratzen”. This, in turn, is an extension of IE *√*ger-* (Pfeifer II 1989: 925) “drehen, winden”, from which base the following may be derived: OFs. *krāwia* (Pokorny I 1956: 388) “mit gekrümmten Fingern kratzen”; OIr. *gruc* g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 389) “Runzel”; Greek γρῦπός p-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 389) “gekrümmt”. The lack of suitable IE parallels in the attested forms given above means that there is insufficient evidence to allow for this verb to be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

kruohhōn “runzeln, runzelig machen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 82). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OS *krōka* (Starck and Wells 1990: 349) “Falte, Runzel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

krūzigōn “kreuzigen; crucifigere, cruce suspendere” (Raven II 1967: 82). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *cruciāre* (Pfeifer II 1989: 931) “kreuzigen, martern”. The -g- suffix probably arises through the influence of Latin *crucifigere* “kreuzigen”; or as a hiatus; or through the influence of the large number of OHG verbs in -igōn). Therefore an OHG loan verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

krūzōn “kreuzigen, ans Kreuz schlagen” (Raven II 1967: 83). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *krūzi*, *krūze* (Starck and Wells 1990: 350) “Kreuz”. < Latin *crux* (gen. *crūcis*) (Kluge 1989: 412) “Kreuz”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

kūmen “mit Mühe ertragen, bejammern, jammernd erzählen, trauern, (sich) (weinend) beklagen, sich beschweren, weinen, in Klagen ausbrechen” (Raven I 1963: 97). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kūma* (Starck and Wells 1990: 350) “Klage, Beschwerde”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

kūmīgēn “ermatten, erschlaffen, krank oder gebrechlich sein oder werden” (Raven II 1967: 231). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kūmīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 351) “erschöpft, leidend, verwundet”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

kūmōn “beklagen” (Raven II 1967: 83). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *kūmen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

kunden “verkündigen, ankündigen, anzeigen, angeben, vorher sagen, vorher verkündigen, bestätigen, zugeben, zeigen, deutlich ausdrücken, bezeugen, beteuern, protestieren, beibringen, andeuten, zurück berichten, rapportieren, weihen, heiligen, beweisen, versichern, dartun, melden, hinterbringen, ansagen, bestimmen, bekanntmachen, bestehen, übereinstimmen, feststellen, überzeugen, überreden, verschulden, sagen” (Raven I 1963: 98). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kūthian* I (Holthausen 1967: 44) “künden, offenbaren”; OFs. *kētha* I (Lehmann 1986: 223) “to make known”; OE *cýðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 81) “to proclaim, utter, make known, show forth, tell, relate; prove show, testify, confess”; ON *kynna* I, assimilation of 'þ' to 'n' (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 366) “to make known”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kunþijanan* “to make known, proclaim”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kund* (Starck and Wells 1990: 351) “bekannt, offenbar”; OS *kūth* (Holthausen 1967: 44) “kund”; OFs. *kūth* (Kluge 1989: 419) “bekannt”; OE *cūð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 76) “known, plain, manifest, certain; well-known, usual; noted, excellent, famous; intimate, familiar, friendly, related”; ON *kunnr* (Kluge 1989: 419) “known, familiar”; Gothic *kunþs* (Kluge 1989: 419) “known”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **kunþaz* “known”, adjectival *to*-participle from preterite-present verb **kann* (see under *kann*). Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *fora-*, *fram-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*

kundōn “verkündigen, kundtun, ausrufen, zeigen” (Raven I 1963: 83). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *cūðian* II originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 76) “to become known, take knowledge of, regard”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kunþōjan* “to know, make known”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *kunden*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *gi-*

kunnēn “erforschen, erfahren, kennenlernen, erkennen, versuchen, drohen, der Trunk, städtisch” (Raven II 1967: 231). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-kunnōn* II (Seebold 1970: 289). OE *cunnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 76) “to search into, try, test, seek for, explore, investigate; experience; know”; Gothic *ana-kunnan* III (Seebold 1970: 289) “to read”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **kunnējanan* (Seebold 1970: 289) class III durative deverbative from preterite-present verb **kann* (see under *kann*). Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

kuolen “kühlen, kühl machen, abkühlen, Kühlung zufächeln” (Raven I 1963: 99). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *kēla* I (Onions 1966: 502) “to cool”; OE *cēlan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 66) “to cool”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kōljijan* “to cool, make cool”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kuoli* (Kluge 1989: 417) “kühl”; OE *cōl* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 72) “cool, cold; tranquil, calm”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kōljaz*, **kōlaz* “cool”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

kuolēn “kalt oder kühl sein oder werden, von der Kälte leiden, erkalten” (Raven II 1967: 232). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kōlōn* II (Onions 1966: 213). OE *cōlian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 72) “to cool, grow cold, be cold”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kōljējan* “to be or become cool”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *kuolen*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

kuppulōn, kupulōn “zusammenkoppeln, verknüpfen” (Raven II 1967: 83). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kupula* (Starck and

Wells 1990: 354) “Band, Verbindung”. < Latin *cōpula* (Kluge 1989: 404) “Band”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Alternatively, this verb may be a loan verb from Latin *cōpulāre* (Pfeifer II 1989: 911) “durch ein Band verknüpfen, zusammenschließen, -binden”).

kurzen “kürzen, abkürzen” (Raven I 1963: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *kurz*, *kurt* (Kluge 1989: 421) “kurz”. < Latin *curtus* (Kluge 1989: 421) “shortened, mutilated”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

kussen “(ab)küssen, herzen, zärtlich lieben” (Raven I 1963: 100). cf. OHG *kossōn* II (Raven II 1967: 81). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *kussian* I (Kluge 1989: 421) “küssen”; OFs. *kessa* I (Kluge 1989: 421) “küssen”; OE *cyssan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 80) “to kiss”; ON *kyssa* I (Kluge 1989: 421) “küssen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kussijanan* (Kluge 1989: 421) “to kiss”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE √*ku-, **kus-* (expressive verb remaining unaffected by Gmc sound shift k>h) (Pokorny I 1956: 626) “kiss”, from which base the following may also be derived: Greek κυνέω n-infix present (Aorist ἐκυσσα) (Kluge 1989: 421) “ich küsse”; Skt *cumbati* (Kluge 1989: 421) “küßt”; Hittite *kuwaš-* (Kluge 1989: 421) “kiss”; Gothic *kukjan* with k-extension or child's speech reduplication of initial consonant (Kluge 1989: 421) “to kiss”; East Fs. *kükken* with k-extension or child's speech reduplication of initial consonant (Kluge 1989: 421) “to kiss”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb. Although there is a later, WGmc, class II variant (see under *kossōn*) which this thesis has made a denominative formation, primary status is more convincing for the older class I verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

kusten “betasten, prüfen, versuchen, untersuchen, probieren, abschätzen, würdigen” (Raven I 1963: 100). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *cystan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 80) “to spend, lay out, get the value of”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kustijan* “to value, estimate, test, try out”. This verb may be a The verb is derived from either of two nominal bases (see under *kostōn*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *ir-*

kutōn “wie eine Taube girren” (Raven II 1967: 83). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *kute*, *kūte* (Raven II 1967: 83) “Taube”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

kweckōn “lebendig oder frisch sein oder werden, frisch oder lebenskräftig werden, zu Leben beginnen, keimen” (Raven II 1967: 230). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *quickōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 467) “leben, Leben zeigen”; OE *cwician* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 78) “to come to life, come to one's self”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kwikwējan* “to come to life”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *kwickōn*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

kwellen “quälen, martern, zu Tode peinigen, plagen, strafen, in Banden legen, mit Marter und zur Strafe wohin bringen, opfern, mordern, foltern Folterknecht” (Raven I 1963: 307). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *quellian* I (Seebold 1970: 313) “qälen, töten”; OE *cwellan* I ((Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 77) “to kill, murder, excute”; ON *kvelja* I (Seebold 1970: 313) “plagen, martern, quälen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kwalejanan* (Seebold 1970: 313) “to cause to suffer, plague, kill”, causative deverbative from strong verb **kwelanan* “quälen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *quelan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 313) “leiden, sich abquälen, trauern um”; OS *quelan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 313) “Martern erleiden, sterben”; OE *cwellan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 77) “to die”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *ir-*, *zi-*

kwetten “anreden, grüßen, benennen, ausrufen, begrüßen, stark, kräftig sein, mit der Stimme oder Worten zustande bringen” (Raven I 1963: 90). cf. OHG *kwitilōn* II (Raven II 1967: 83). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *queddian* I (Seebold 1970: 319) “anreden, begrüßen”; OE *cwiddian*, *cweddian* II, but probably originally class I as indicated by umlaut (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 78) “to talk, speak, say, discuss, report; make a claim against”; ON *kveðja* I (Seebold 1970: 319) “anreden, begrüßen, auffordern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kwaðejanan* (Seebold 1970: 319) “begrüßen, anreden”, causative of strong verb **kweþanan* (Seebold 1970: 319) “to say, speak”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *quedan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 319) “sagen, sprechen, behaupten, reden, versichern”; OS *quethan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 319) “Satz sprechen, sagen, reden”; OFs. *quetha* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 319) “sagen, sprechen, bedeuten”; OE *cweðan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 78) “to say, speak, name, proclaim, summon, declare, order, give orders; consider, regard”; ON *kveða* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 318) “sagen, sprechen, nennen, singen”; Gothic *qipan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 318) “sagen, sprechen, reden, meinen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

kwicken “quicken, beleben, emportreiben, erwecken, erregen, zusammensingen, harmonieren, zusammenfügen, herrichten” (Raven I 1963: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *kwickōn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-ir-*, *bi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *ūz-ir-*

kwickōn “leben” (Raven II 1967: 83). cf. OHG *kwicken* I (Raven I 1963: 91). cf. OHG *kwickēn* III (Raven II 1967: 230). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *quickōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 467) “leben, Leben zeigen”; OE *cwician* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 78) “to quicken, make living”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **kwikwōjan* “to quicken, bring to life; live”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *quic*, *quēc* (Kluge 1989: 364) “lebendig, lebhaft”; OS *quick* (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 179) “lebendig”; OFs. *quick* (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 179) “lebendig”; OE *cwic(u)* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 78) “alive, quick, living”; ON *kvikr* (Kluge 1989: 364) “lebendig”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **kwikuz*, **kwikwaz* “lebendig, lebhaft”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

kwitilōn “leise klagend besprechen, reden über, murmeln, flüstern, girren” (Raven II 1967: 83). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **kweðilōjan* (Seebold 1970: 319) class II diminutive deverbative (formed with l-extension) from strong verb **kweþanan* (Seebold 1970: 318) “sagen” (see under *kwetten*). Therefore an OHG diminutive deverbative (formed with l-extension).

L

labōn “laben, den Hunger stillen, Viehzeug tränken, erfrischen, erquickern, Ruhe schaffen, sich erholen, sich angenehm machen, waschen” (Raven II 1967: 83). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-lavōn* II (Kluge 1989: 422) “waschen”; OE *lafian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 210) “to pour water on, wash, bathe”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **labōjan* (Kluge 1989: 422) “to wash”. < Latin *lavāre* (Kluge 1989: 422) “to wash”. Therefore a WGmc loan verb (the early origin of the loan is indicated by the OHG sound shift of 'v' to 'b'. Nevertheless, these borrowings could equally have been made independantly, the OHG shift of 'v' to 'b' by analogy).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ladōn “laden, einladen, berufen, auffordern” (Raven II 1967: 84). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *laðian*, *ladioian* II (Kluge 1989: 425) “laden”; OFs. *lathia*, *ladia* II (Kluge 1989: 425) “laden”; OE *laðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 212) “to invite, summon, call upon, ask”; ON *laða* II (Kluge 1989: 425) “einladen, bitten”; Gothic *laþon* II (Kluge 1989: 425) “to invite”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **laþōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 425) “einladen, berufen”. Etymology uncertain. Probably from a noun **laþō* (Pokorny I 1956: 665) which appears in Gothic *laþa-leiko* (Kluge 1989: 424) “gern, (wohl eigentlich) willig”. Compare ON *loð* (de Vries 1962: 373) “Einladung”, and Runic *laþu* (de Vries 1962: 373). Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-*, *furi-*, *gi-*, *widar-gi-*, *(heim-)*, *(herasun)-*, *in-*, *ūf-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*

**lāen* “verraten”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *lāewan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 210) “to betray”; Gothic *lewjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 232) “to betray”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lēwījanan* “to betray”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OE *lāw*, *lēw* (Bosworth and Toller 1921: 603) “injury, weakening”; ON *læ* (Zoëga 1910: 281) “venom, bane”; Gothic *lew* (Lehmann 1986: 232) “opportunity, cause”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lēwan* “opportunity, cause”. cf. OHG *lāwī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 362) “Lauheit”; cf. OFs. *lēwse* (Holthausen 1925: 65) “verrat”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *gi-*

lāgōn “(+gen., dat.) auflauern, nachstellen, wonach trachten” (Raven II 1967: 85). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lāga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 358) “Hinterhalt, Falle”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

(h)lahhēn “(+gen.) lachen, lächeln über, vor Freude strahlen, laut jubeln, anlächeln” (Raven II 1967: 232). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hlahējan* (Seebold 1970: 257) “lachen”, class III durative deverbative from strong verb **hlahjanan* (Seebold 1970: 257) “lachen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *hlōc* st. vb pret. sg. (Kluge 1989: 424) “lachen”; OS *hlogun* st. vb pret. pl. (Kluge 1989: 424) “lachen”; OE *hliehhan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 186) “to laugh; rejoice; deride”; ON *hlēja* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 424) “lachen”; Gothic *hlahjan* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 424) “to laugh”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *zuo-*

lāhhinōn “heilen, gesund machen, Arzt sein” (Raven II 1967: 85). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lāknōn* II (de Vries 1962: 371). OE *lācnian*, *lācnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 208) “to heal, cure, treat, look after; foment, dress (a wound)”; ON *lækna* II though

possibly loan verb from OE (Lehmann 1986: 232) “heilen”; Gothic *lekinon* II (Lehmann 1986: 232) “to heal”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lēkinōjanan* “to heal, cure, treat”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lāhhi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 358) “Arzt”; OS *lāki* (Onions 1966: 522) “Arzt”; OFs. *letza, leisha* (Onions 1966: 522) “Arzt”; OE *læce* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 232) “physician, doctor”; OSwed. *lākir* (Onions 1966: 522). Gothic *lekeis* (Onions 1966: 522) “physician”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lēkjaz* (Onions 1966: 522) “doctor, physician”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb (formed with n-extension).

lallōn “stammeln, lallen, unklar reden” (Raven II 1967: 85). The following cognate verbs are attested: Swed. *lalla* (Kluge 1989: 426) “lallen”; Dan. *lalle* (Pfeifer II 1989: 966) “lallen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **lallōjanan* “lallen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to be formed by means of reduplication from the IE $\sqrt{*lā}$ (Pokorny I 1989: 651) “(Schallwurzel)”, from which base the following may be also derived: Latin *lallāre* (Kluge 1989: 426) “trällern”; Greek *λαλέω* (Kluge 1989: 426) “ich schwatze”; Skt *lalallā* (Kluge 1989: 426) “Lallen, Lallaut (interjektion des Lallens)”; Lith. *lalioti* (Kluge 1989: 426) “lallen”; Russ. *lāla* (Kluge 1989: 426) “Schwätzer”. Despite the fact that this verb may represent an IE ‘Wanderwort’, the IE parallels given above present sufficient evidence to allow for it to be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum.

langēn “(impers. +acc. pers. et gen. rei) begehren, Lust haben, nach etwas sehnen, Verlangen tragen, einem Bange sein, d.h. ihn drängen” (Raven II 1967: 233). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *langōn* II (de Vries 1962: 345) “verlangen”; OE *langian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 211) “to long for, yearn after, grieve for, be pained”; ON *langa* (de Vries 1962: 345) “verlangen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **langējanan* “to long for”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lang, lanc(h)* (Kluge 1989: 427) “lang, groß, ausgedehnt”; OS *lang* (Kluge 1989: 427) “lang”; OFs. *lang, long* (Kluge 1989: 427) “lang”; OE *lang* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 211) “long, tall, lasting”; ON *langr* (Kluge 1989: 427) “lang”; Gothic *laggs* (Kluge 1989: 427) “long”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **langaz* (Kluge 1989: 427) “lang”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *dara-*, *gi-*, *hina-*

langsamōn “verlängern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 360). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *langsam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 360) “lang, lange dauernd”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

lastarōn “lästern, schmähen, die Ehre nehmen” (Raven II 1967: 86). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lastar* (Kluge 1989: 429) “Laster, Tadel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

lazōn “verzögern, säumen, träge sein” (Raven II 1967: 86). ON *lata* II (de Vries 1962: 346) “langsam, ruhig, schlaff werden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **latōjanan* “to be slow, lazy, late”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *lezzēn*). Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

lazzēn “lässig oder träge sein, säumen, zögern” (Raven II 1967: 233). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *latian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 212) “to be slow, indolent; to linger, delay, hesitate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **latējan* “to be slow, lazy, late”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *lezzēn*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

lebēn “(+gen, dat, acc.) leben, beleben, verleben, das Leben führen oder zubringen, am Leben sein, Leben haben, von etwas leben, verkehren, erquickern, lebend, lebendig, ein lebendes Wesen, veränderliche Dinge” (Raven II 1967: 233). cf. OHG *leiben* I. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *libbian* (Kluge 1989: 432) “leben”; OFs. *libba* (Kluge 1989: 432) “leben”; OE *libban*, *lifian*, *leofian* III (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 217) “to live, experience, be, exist”; ON *lifa* III (Kluge 1989: 432) “leben”; Gothic *liban* III (Kluge 1989: 432) “to live”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **libējanan* (Seebold 1970: 326) “leben, fortsetzen, bleiben”, class III durative deverbative from strong verb **-leibanan* (Seebold 1970: 326) “with prefix = bleiben” (see under *leiben*). Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *eban-*, *gi-*, *missi-*, *ubar-*, *widar-*

lefsmammalōn “stammeln” (Raven II 1967: 86). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *lefs* (Starck and Wells 1990: 364) “Lefze, Lippe, Rand”; cf. OHG *mammalōn* II “undeutlich sprechen, in den Bart murmeln, stammeln, (modern Bavarian) memmeln”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

leggen “liegen machen, hinweg-. ablegen, aussetzen, anberaumen, hineintun, anziehen” (Raven I 1963: 309). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *leggian* I (Seebold 1970: 325) “legen”; OFs. *ledza*, *lega*, *leia* I (Seebold 1970: 325) “legen”; OE *lecgan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 214) “to lay, put, place, deposit, set; bury; prostrate, cast down, lay low, kill; betake oneself, go; put before, submit; dispose, arrange; attach”; ON *leggja* I (Seebold 1970: 325) “legen, liegen machen, einrichten, werfen”; Gothic *lagjan* I (Seebold 1970: 325) “to lay”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lagejanan* (Seebold 1970: 325) “legen, liegen machen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **legjanan* (Seebold 1970: 324) “liegen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *lig(g)an* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 325) “liegen”; OS *liggian* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 325) “liegen”; OFs. *lidza* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 324) “liegen, sterben”; OE *licgan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 217) “to lie, be situated, be at rest, remain; lie down, lie low, lie dead; yield, subside, fall; lead, extend to”; ON *liggja* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 324) “liegen, brachliegen, sich erstrecken; verliegen; beschlafen”; Gothic *ligan* st. vb, j-present form probably lost as a result of secondary development (Seebold 1970: 324) “to lie”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ana-gi-*, *hi-*, *dara-*, (*dara-*)*zuo-*, *fir-*, *folla-*, *fora-*, *gi-*, (*hera-*)*zuo-*, *hina-*, *ir-*, *missi-*, *nidar-*, (*suntar-*)*gi-*, *ubar-*, *ūf-*, *umbi-*, *untar-*, *widar-*, *zi(r)-*, *zisamene-*, *zuo-*

lēhanōn “Lehn erteilen, belehnen, borgen” (Raven II 1967: 86). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lēhnōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 365) “borgen, leihen”; OFs. *lēnigia* II (de Vries 1962: 345). ON *lána* II, with loss of medial 'h' (de Vries 1962: 345) “leihen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **laihwnōjanan* “leihen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lēhan*, *lēn* (Kluge 1989: 434) “Lehen, Darlehen”; OS *lēhan* (Kluge 1989: 434) “Lehen”; OFs. *lēn* (Kluge 1989: 434) “Lehen”; OE *læn* with loss of medial 'h' (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 209) “loan, borrowing, lease, grant, gift, present, benefit”; ON *lán* (Kluge 1989: 434) “Lehen, Geliehenes, Glück”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **laihwnan* (Kluge 1989: 434) “überlassenes Gut”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *int-*

leiben “übriglassen, hinterlassen” (Raven I 1963: 101). cf. OHG *lebēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *far-lēbian* I (Seebold 1970: 326); OFs. *leva* I (Seebold 1970: 326) “hinterlassen”; OE *læfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 209) “to leave, cause or allow to remain”; ON *leifa* I (Seebold 1970: 326) “hinterlassen”; Gothic *bi-laibjan* I (Seebold 1970: 326) “to remain behind”, which allow us to reconstruct a Gmc **laibejanan* (Seebold 1970: 326) “to leave, cause to remain”, causative deverbative from strong verb **-leibanan* (Seebold 1970: 326) “with prefix = bleiben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bi-līban* st. vb (Starck and Wells 1990: 372) “bleiben, zurückbleiben, aufhören”; OS (*bi-*)*līban* present only

(Kluge 1989: 91) “bleiben”; OFs. *b(i)līva*, *belīva* st. vb (Kluge 1989: 91) “bleiben”; OE *be-līfan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 40) “to remain over, be left”; ON *blifa* probably a loan verb, as it is only attested in late Christian texts (Kluge 1989: 91) “bleiben”; Gothic *bi-laif* only attested in one disputed form (Kluge 1989: 91). Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

leiden “verleiden, sich leid machen, verhaßt oder widrig machen, verwünschen, verabscheuen, verhüten, (hin)wegwünschen” (Raven I 1963: 101). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *a-lēðian* I (de Vries 1962: 350); OE *læðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 210) “to abuse, revile, hate; cause to shun”; ON *leiða* I (de Vries 1962: 350) “verhaßt machen, verleiden”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **laiþijanan* “to make hateful, cause to hate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *leid* (Starck and Wells 1990: 366) “verhaßt, verdrießlich, schänlich”; OS *lēh* (Kluge 1989: 436) “feindlich, verhaßt”; OFs. *lēh* (Kluge 1989: 436) “feindlich, verhaßt”; OE *lāð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 212) “causing hate, evil, injury, annoyance; hateful, hated, loathed, loth, displeasing, injurious, grievous”; ON *leiðr* (Kluge 1989: 436) “feindlich, verhaßt”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **laiþaz* (Kluge 1989: 436). Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

leidēn “leid oder gehässig sein oder werden, die Zeit verbringen, erdulden, verwünschen, unbemerkt bleiben, leid oder verhaßt sein, schmutzig oder widerlich sein” (Raven II 1967: 235). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *lāðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 212) “to hate, be hated”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **laiðējan* “to become hateful, hostile, hate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *leiden*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

leidezzen “anklagen, beschuldigen, Vorwürfe machen, tadeln, verfluchen, verwünschen, (hin)wegwünschen, verschmähen, zurückweisen, aufschauern, erschrecken, sich entsetzen, sich entrüsten, mißbilligen, verwerfen, verurteilen, Groll oder Pein bekommen, schaudern, erbeben, erzittern, zurückschrecken, gründlich hassend” (Raven I 1963: 101). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *lāðettan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 212) “to be odious or hateful, be hated, be hostile, to abominate, hate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **laiðatjan* class I intensive deverbative from NWGmc class I weak verb **laiðijanan* (see under *leiden*). Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

leidigōn “kränken, in Leid versetzen, betrübt machen” (Raven II 1967: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *leidīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 366) “widerwärtig, verhaßt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

leidlīhhēn “verabscheuen, ein Gegenstand des Abscheues sein, verschmähen, zurückweisen, schänden, entweihen, ein Greul sein, ungültig machen” (Raven II 1967: 235). cf. OHG *leidlīhhōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 366). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *leidlīh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 366) “abscheulich, schrecklich, verhaßt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

leidōn “gerichtlich anklagen, jemandem grob anfahren, zurückweisen, betrüben, verleumden” (Raven II 1967: 87). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lēðōn* II (Bosworth and Toller 1976: 669). OE *lāðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 212) “to be hateful or loathed”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **laiþijanan* “to make hateful, cause to hate”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *leiden*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

leidsamōn “jemandem zum Abscheu machen, Haß zeigen, tadeln” (Raven II 1967: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *leidsam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 367) “verhaßt, abscheulich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

leihhen “zucken, wippen; aufspringen, in die Höhe steigen; sich biegen; mit einem sein Spiel treiben, ihn verspotten, täuschen, betrügen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 383). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **laikjan* class I weak deverbative from strong verb **laikanan* (Seebold 1970: 321) “spielen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *lācan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 208) “to move up and down, leap, jump, swing, fly; play (instrument; play upon, delude”; ON *leika* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 321) “sich rasch bewegen, spielen, scherzen; verspotten; verführen, täuschen”; Gothic *laikan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 321) “hüpfen, springen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

(*h*)*leinen* “(sich) lehnen, niederlegen, anstellen” (Raven I 1963: 102). cf. OHG (*h*)*lēmēn* III (Raven II 1967: 237). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hlēnan* I (Kluge 1989: 435) “to cause to lean, to incline”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hlain(e)jan* (Kluge 1989: 435) “sich stützen, lehnen”. The verb is formed with an 'n'-extension and derives ultimately from the 'o'-grade ablaut form of IE √**klei-* (Pokorny I 1956: 600) “neigen, lehnen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *srayate* (Kluge 1989: 435) “lehnt sich an, befindet sich”; The following 'n'-extensions are also attested: Greek κλίνω n-extension (Pokorny 1956: 601) “ich neige, lehne an”; Latin *clīnāre* n-extension (Pokorny 1956: 601) “biegen, beugen, neigen”; OIr. *clóin*, *clóen* n-extension (Pokorny 1956: 601) “schief, krummrückig”; Lith. *šlinù* n-extension (Pokorny 1956: 601) “ich lehne mich an”. These IE parallels show that the 'n'-extension forms are pre-Gmc, and are thus sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ūf-ir-*

leisanen “nachahmen” (Raven I 1963: 102). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *-leisa* “Spur” in *waganleisa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 689) “Wagenspur, Wagengleis”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with n-extension).

leisanōn “nachahmen, nacheifern” (Raven II 1967: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *leisanen*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with n-extension).

leisten “erfüllen, gewähren, verursachen, entwickeln, erweisen, leisten, durchmachen, erzeugen, erstatten” (Raven I 1963: 102). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lēstian* I (Kluge 1989: 438). OFs. *lāsta lesta* I (Kluge 1989: 438). OE *læstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 209) “to follow, attend, accompany, do suit and service; to continue, last”; Gothic *laistjan* I (Kluge 1989: 438) “to follow”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **laistijanan* (Kluge 1989: 438). The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *leist* (Kluge 1989: 437) “Fuß, Spur”; OE *lāst* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 212) “a step, footstep, sole of the foot, track, trace”; ON *leistr* (Kluge 1989: 437) “Hosenbein, Strumpf; Schritt”; Gothic *laists* (Kluge 1989: 437) “track, trace”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **laistaz* (Kluge 1989: 437) “Fuß, Spur”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *folla-*, *gi-*

leiten “leiten, führen, heiraten, herbeiführen, fortführen, entfernen, vertreiben, heraus-, hinaus-, hineinführen, überziehen, aufheben, einführen, bringen, erziehen, aufbringen, anleiten, hinführen, hinbringen, hinleiten, geleiten, fortsetzen, bestimmen, hinüberführen, übersetzen, hindurchführen, entwenden, vorenthalten, erdulden, überstehen, wegraffen, eilig vollbringen, lenken, herbeiführen, in Bewegung setzen, ablenken, abwenden, wandeln, gehen, ziehen, zurückführen, verfertigen, regieren, zusammenführen” (Raven I 1963: 102). The following

cognate verbs are attested: OS *lēdian* I (Seebold 1970: 329) “bringen”; OFs. *lāda* I (Seebold 1970: 329) “bringen, leiten”; OE *lædan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 208) “to cause to move, bring or take a person: to take, carry, convey: to accompany and show the way, conduct, convoy, guide, lead”; ON *leiða* I (Seebold 1970: 329) “führen, leiten; folgen; begraben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **laiðejanan* (Seebold 1970: 329) “leiten, führen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **leiþanan* (Seebold 1970: 328) “(weg)gehen, leiden”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *līdan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 329) “gehen, weggehen, vergehen”; OS *līðan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 329) “gehen, vergehen, befahren”; OFs. *līha* st. vb, present only (Seebold 1970: 329) “leiden”; OE *līðan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 220) “to go, travel, sail; arrive; to be bereft of, suffer loss”; ON *liða* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 328) “gehen, fahren; dahingehen, sterben; vorübergehen”; Gothic *ga-leiþan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 329) “kommen, gehen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-*, *ana-*, *bi-*, *dana-*, *dara-gi-*, *dara-in-*, *(dara-)zuo-*, *duruh-*, *fir-*, *folla-*, *fram-gi-*, *furi-*, *hera-*, *in-*, *in-gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *ita-*, *missi-*, *ubar-*, *ūf-*, *umbi-*, *ūz-*, *ūz-gi-*, *widar-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

leitōn “leiten” (Raven II 1967: 87). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **laiðōjanan* “leiten, führen”, class II deverbative from strong verb **leiþanan* (Seebold 1970: 328) “(weg)gehen, leiden” (see under *leiten*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

lecken “benetzen, bewässern, eine Flüssigkeit wohinleiten” (Raven I 1963: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *leccan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 214) “to water, irrigate, wet, moisten, slake”; MLG *lecken* (de Vries 1962: 352) “lecken”; ON *leka* II, probably originally class I (de Vries 1962: 352) “leck machen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **lakejanan* (Seebold 1970: 330) “to cause to leak, > to make moist”, causative deverbative from strong verb **lekanan* (Seebold 1970: 330) “lecken”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *lechan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 330) “lecken, verschmachten”; OFs. *bi-leka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 330) “austrocknen”; MDu. *leken* st. vb (Pfeifer II 1989: 988) “fließen, tropfen, Flüssigkeit durchlassen, undicht sein”; ON *leka* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 330) “leck sein, tropfen”. Therefore a NWGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

leckezen “schwingen, hin- und herbewegen, zittern” (Raven I 1963: 106). We can therefore reconstruct a **lekatjan* “schwingen”, class I intensive deverbative from weak verb **lekijan* attested in MHG *lecken* (Lexer I 1872: 1850) “mit den Füßen ausschlagen, hüpfen, springen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

leckōn “lecken, belecken” (Raven II 1967: 87). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *likkōn* II (Kluge 1989: 433) “lecken”; OE *liccian* II (Kluge 1989: 433) “to lick; lap up”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **likkōjan* (Kluge 1989: 433) “lecken”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It may represent an intensive form with expressive gemination, but is probably an assimilated form of an earlier **liknōjanan*, this an ablaut zero-grade n-extension deriving ultimately from the IE $\sqrt{*leigh-}$ (Kluge 1989: 433) “lecken”. N-extension forms are also seen in: Greek $\lambda\iota\chi\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}$ (Kluge 1956: 429) “ich belecke, begehre”; Serbian *laznuti* (Kluge 1956: 429) “einmal lecken”; Compare further the non-extended forms attested in the following: Gothic *bi-laigon* II (Kluge 1989: 433) “belecken”; ON *sleikja* I with initial ‘s-’ (Pokorny I 1956: 668) “lecken”; OIr. *ligim* (Kluge 1989: 433) “ich lecke”; Latin *lingere* (Kluge 1989: 433) “lecken”; Greek $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omega$ (Kluge 1989: 433) “ich lecke”; OCS *lizati* (Kluge 1989: 433) “leckt”; Skt *ledhi*, *redhi* retroflex ‘dh’ (Kluge 1989: 433) “lecken”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

lemmen “lähmen, erlähmen” (Raven I 1963: 313). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lemmian* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 964) “lahm machen”; OFs. *lemma* I (de Vries 1962: 352) “lahm

machen”; OE *lemian* class II but probably originally class I as shown by umlaut, but lacking gemination (Pfeifer II 1989: 964) “to subdue; lame, disable”; ON *lemja* (Pfeifer II 1989: 964) “lähmen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **lamijanan* “to render lame”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lam* (Starck and Wells 1990: 359) “lahm, verkrüppelt, gebrechlich”; OS *lamo* (Kluge 1989: 425) “lahm”; OFs. *lam*, *lem* (Kluge 1989: 425) “lahm”; OE *lama*, *loma*, *lame* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 210) “crippled, lame, paralytic, weak”; ON *lami* (Kluge 1989: 425) “gelähmt, gebrechlich”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **lamaz* **lamōn* (Kluge 1989: 425) “lahm, verkrüppelt”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

lemsen sperren, fesseln, verrammeln, verschließen” (Raven I 1963: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lam* (Kluge 1989: 425) “lahm, verkrüppelt, gebrechlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

lengen “verlängern, dehnen, in die Länge ziehen, prolongieren, ausdehnen” (Raven I 1963: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *lendza* I (de Vries 1962: 353) “verlängern”; OE *lengan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 214) “to lengthen, prolong, protract, delay; extend, reach, attain; belong”; ON *lengja* I (de Vries 1962: 353) “verlängern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **langijanan* “to make long(er), lengthen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lang*, *lanc(h)* (Kluge 1989: 427) “lang”; OS *lang* (Kluge 1989: 427) “lang”; OFs. *lang*, *long* (Kluge 1989: 427) “lang”; OE *lang long* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 211) “long, tall, lasting”; ON *langr* (Kluge 1989: 427) “lang”; Gothic *laggs* (Kluge 1989: 427) “long”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **langaz* (Kluge 1989: 427) “lang”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-gi-*, *gi-*, *hina-*, *ir-*

lenten “landen, anlegen, hinsteuern” (Raven I 1963: 107). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *lenda* I (de Vries 1962: 352) “landen”; OE *lendān* I (de Vries 1962: 352) “to land, arrive; go; endow with land”; ON *lenda* I (de Vries 1962: 352) “Landbesitz geben; an Land kommen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **landijanan* “to land”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lant* (Kluge 1989: 426) “Land”; OS *land* (Kluge 1989: 426) “Land”; OFs. *land*, *lond* (Kluge 1989: 426) “land”; OE *land* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 210) “earth, land, soil; territory, realm, province, district; landed property; country (not town)”; ON *land* (Kluge 1989: 426) “Land”; Gothic *land* (Kluge 1989: 426) “land”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **landan* (Kluge 1989: 426) “Land”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *zuo-gi-*

**lepfen* “austrinken, schöpfen, ausleeren, erstreben, ans Licht streben, etwas zu erreichen suchen, heben, zutreffen, genießen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: Mod.Ice *lepia* I (Seebold 1970: 323) “lecken, schlürfen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **lapejanan* (Seebold 1970: 323) “lecken, schlürfen”, class I deverbative from strong verb **lapanan* (Seebold 1970: 323) “schlürfen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *laffan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 323) “schlürfen, lecken (das Wasser wie ein Hund)”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

lēren “lehren, belehren, unterrichten, unterweisen, aufklären, ausbilden, durch Unterricht befähigen, zeigen, denken machen, mahnen, zurechtweisen, züchtigen, vom Gegenteil überführen, katechisieren, befragen, einflößen, ordnen, beurteilen, deuten, die Richtung geben, wiederholt sagen, diktieren, vorschreiben, überzeugen, in Erinnerung bringen, erwähnen, besprechen, erörtern, disputieren” (Raven I 1963: 107). cf. OHG *lernēn*, *lirnēn* III (Raven II 1967: 235). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lērian* I (Seebold 1970: 323) “lehren”; OFs. *lēra* I (Seebold 1970: 323) “lehren”; OE *læran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 209) “to

teach, instruct, guide; enjoin, advise, persuade, urge, preach; convert”; Gothic *laisjan* I (Seebold 1970: 323) “to teach”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **laizejanan* (Seebold 1970: 323) “lehren”, causative deverbative from preterite-present verb **lais* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 322) “ich weiß”. This verb is attested in the following: Gothic *lais* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 322) “ich weiß”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *gi-*

lerken “sich heften an, festhalten, kleben” (Raven I 1963: 109). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

lernēn, *lirnēn* “(+acc. rei) lernen, erfahren, erkennen, erforschen, erfragen, unterrichten, anregen, voll Eifer sein, in Anregung versetzt werden” (Raven II 1967: 235). cf. OHG *lāren* I. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *līrnōn* II (Kluge 1989: 439) “lernen”; OFs. *lernia*, *lirnia* II (Kluge 1989: 439) “lernen”; OE *leornian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 216) “to learn, read, study, think about”, which allows us to reconstruct a **līznējan* “to learn”, class III deverbative (formed with nasal extension) from preterite-present verb **lais* (Seebold 1970: 322) “weiß”. This verb is attested in the following: Gothic *lais* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 322) “ich weiß”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation (formed with n-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-*, *gi-*

lesken “löschen, auslöschen, vertilgen, vernichten, einschläfern, betäuben, beruhigen, dämpfen, ersticken, beengen, beklemmen” (Raven I 1963: 109). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *a-leskian* I (Seebold 1970: 333) “tilgen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **laskejan* (Seebold 1970: 333) “löschen”, causative deverbative from strong verb **leskanan* (Seebold 1970: 333) “erlöschen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *ir-lescan* st. vb (Pfeifer II 1989: 1031) “erlöschen”; OS *leskan* only present forms attested (Seebold 1970: 333) “erlöschen”; OFs. *bi-leska* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 333) “erlöschen”. Therefore a WGmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

lewēn “(+gen.) als Ursache oder Veranlassung wozu gelten, Nachsicht haben mit, gnädig oder günstig sein, verantworten, rechtfertigen” (Raven II 1967: 235). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **lew* “opportunity, cause”. cf. Gothic *lew* (Lehmann 1986: 232) “opportunity, cause”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

lezzen “hemmen, verletzen, hindern, verhindern, fangen, verwickeln, verstricken, nachgeben machen, schießen, zurückhalten” (Raven I 1963: 110). cf. OHG *lazzōn* II; cf. OHG *lazzēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lettian* I (Kluge 1989: 760) “to let”; OFs. *letta* I (Kluge 1989: 760) “to let”; OE *lettan* I (Kluge 1989: 760) “to let, hinder, delay, impede, oppress”; ON *letja* I (Kluge 1989: 760) “abhalten, hindern”; Gothic *latjan* I (Kluge 1989: 760) “to delay”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **latijanan* (Kluge 1989: 760) “hemmen, aufhalten”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *laz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 362) “matt, säumig, lässig, träge”; MLG *lat(e)* (Kluge 1989: 429); MDu. *lat* (Kluge 1989: 429); OFs. *let* (Kluge 1989: 429) “evil”; OE *læt* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 209) “slow; slack, lax, negligent; late”; ON *latr* (Kluge 1989: 429) “faul, schlaff”; Gothic *lats* (Kluge 1989: 429) “lazy, indolent”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lataz* (Kluge 1989: 429) “träge, lässig”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

(h)līben “schonen, verschonen, etwas sparen, mit etwas sparsam sein, vor etwas sich hüten, (sich) mäßigen” (Raven I 1963: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *hlifa* I (Seebold 1970: 261) “schonen, schützen”; Gothic *hleibjan* I (Seebold 1970: 261) “to help”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hleibejan* (Seebold 1970: 261) class I deverbative from strong verb **hleibanan* (Seebold 1970: 261) “schonen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *līban* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 261) “schonen, verschonen”. Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

līb-festigōn “lebendig machen, beleben, Leben schaffen” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *līb* (Starck and Wells 1990: 372) “Leben”; cf. OHG **festigōn* II independently unattested (cf. OHG *festinōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 149) “fest machen”). Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

lībhaftigōn “am Leben lassen” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lībhaftīg* (Starck and Wells 1990: 372) “körperlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

līdigen “losbinden, freimachen, befreien, erledigen, darlegen, nützen” (Raven I 1963: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **līdig* “ledig, los”, can be reconstructed from the following: MHG *ledic* (de Vries 1962: 355) “frei, unbehindert, unverheiratet, leer, müßig”; MLG, MDu *ledich* (de Vries 1962: 355) “müßig, unbeschäftigt”; OFs. *lethich*, *ledich* (de Vries 1962: 355) “unbehindert, frei, leer”; ON *liðugr* (de Vries 1962: 355) “ledig, los, unbehindert, wohlwollend”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **liðugaz* “gelenkig, beweglich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

līdōn “in Stücke schneiden oder zerlegen” (Raven II 1967: 88). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *liðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 220) “to unloose, release”, connection seen better in OE *ā-liðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 18) “to detach, separate;set free”; ON *liða* II (de Vries 1962: 354) “in Ordnung bringen, beugen, gliedern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **līpōjanan* “gliedern, zerlegen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *līd* (Starck and Wells 1990: 372) “Glieð, Gelenk”; OS *līth* (Kluge 1989: 269) “Glieð, Gelenk”; OFs. *līth* (Kluge 1989: 269) “Glieð, Gelenk”; OE *lið* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 220) “limb, member; joint”; ON *liðr* (Kluge 1989: 269) “Glieð, Gelenk”; Gothic *līpus* (Kluge 1989: 269) “member”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **līpuz* (Kluge 1989: 269) “Glieð”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *zi-*

lihhaszen “heucheln” (Raven I 1963: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **lihatjan* intensive deverbative from a weak verb represented by OHG *lihhisōn* “übersehen, vorgeben, verhehlen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 375). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

līhēn “(impers. abs. vel +dat. pers. et gen. rei) gleich, lieb, ähnlich, angemessen, (an)genehm, gefällig sein, gefallen, Wohlgefallen haben an, gefallend” (Raven II 1967: 236). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *līkōn* II, originally class III? (Onions 1966: 528) “gefallen”; OFs. *līkia* II, originally class III? (Onions 1966: 528) “gefallen”; OE *līcian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 218) “(+dat. or impersonal) to please; be sufficient; to be like, seem like”; ON *lika* (Zoëga 1910: 274) “gleichmachen; polieren”; Gothic *leikan* III (Lehmann 1986: 231) “to please”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **leikējanan* “to be similar, alike; to be suitable; to be pleasing, to like”. As the etymon adjective for this verb, **ga-leikaz*, occurs in prefixed form, it is more likely that **leikējanan* is a back formation simplex from the prefixed **ga-leikējanan* (see under *gi-līhēn*).
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *missi-*

līhhisōn “übersehen, unbeachtet lassen, (er)heucheln, zögern” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. As the etymon adjective for this verb, OHG *gilīh*, occurs only in prefixed form, this verb is probably best considered a back formation from OHG *gi-līhhisōn* (which see).
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*

līhōn “ebnen, glatt schneiden, Seuche = Buße? Auflösung?” (Raven II 1967: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the related Gmc languages probably belong with the class III verb, this verb is best considered a class II deverbative formation from the class III verb (see under *līhēn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

līhten “erleichtern, erlösen, befreien, aufrichten, ordnen, erklären, lindern, erquicken, besänftigen” (Raven I 1963: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG MDu. *lichten* (de Vries 1962: 353) “erleichtern”; OFs. *līhta* I (de Vries 1962: 353) “erleichtern”; OE *līhtan*, *lēohtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 219) “to make light, easy, relieve, alleviate; dismount, alight”; ON *létta* I (de Vries 1962: 353) “erleichtern; aufheben, aufhalten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **lenhtijanan* “erleichtern, lindern”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *līhti*, *lieht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 376) “leicht, lind, mühelos”; OS *līht-* (Kluge 1989: 436) “leicht”; OFs. *līchte*, *liochte*, *liuchte* (Kluge 1989: 436) “leicht”; OE *leoht*, *līht* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 216) “light, not heavy; slight, easy, trifling, inconsiderable; quick, agile; gentle”; ON *léttr* (Kluge 1989: 436) “leicht”; Gothic *leihts* (Kluge 1989: 436) “light, slight”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lenhtaz* (Kluge 1989: 436) “light, slight, not heavy”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

līhtirōn “erleichtern” (Raven II 1967: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *līhtiro* comparative form of *līht* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 376) “leicht, lind, mühelos”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

līluhhen “schmeicheln, ergötzen, erheitern, liebkosten, nähren, pflegen, wärmen, erquicken” (Raven I 1963: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

līmen “leimen, zusammenleimen” (Raven I 1963: 111). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *līmian* I (de Vries 1962: 356) “leimen”; OE *līman* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 219) “to cement, join, stick together”; ON *líma* (de Vries 1962: 356) “kleistern, kleben”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **leimijanan* “leimen, zusammenleimen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *līm* (Starck and Wells 1990: 376) “Leim, Kalk, Vogelleim”; OS *līm* (Kluge 1989: 437) “Leim”; OE *līm* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 219) “anything sticky, lime, mortar, cement, gluten, bird-lime, snare”; ON *līm* (Kluge 1989: 437) “Leim, Kalk”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **leimaz* (Kluge 1989: 437) “lime, chalk, mortar”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *zisamene-gi-*, *zuo-gi-*

linden “schmeicheln, lindern, mildern, mäßigen, erweichen, nachgiebig machen” (Raven I 1963: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lindi* (Kluge 1989: 443) “gelind, weich, zart”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

lind-kōsōn “bereden, schmeicheln, verführen” (Raven II 1967: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *lind* (Starck and Wells 1990: 377) “gelind, weich, zart”; cf. OHG *kōsōn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 342) “sich besprechen, reden, aussagen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

(h)līnēn “sich niederlegen, herabsinken, in geneigter Stellung sein, sich lehnen, sich stützen, einhergehen, sich an etwas anlehnen, hervorragen, sich auszeichnen” (Raven II 1967: 237). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hlinian*, *hleonian* II (Kluge 1989: 435) “to lean, recline, lie down, rest”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hlinējan* (Kluge 1989: 435) “sich stützen, lehnen”. The verb is formed with an 'n'-extension and derives ultimately from the

zero-grade ablaut form of IE $\sqrt{*klei-}$ (Pokorny 1956: 600) “neigen, lehnen”, from which base the following may also be derived: (see under *hleinēn*). These IE parallels show that the n-extension forms are pre-Gmc, and provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *ana-gi-*, *fora-*, *gi-*, *oba-*, *ubar-*, *untar-*, *zuo-*

liob-sangōn “ein Freudenlied anstimmen” (Raven II 1967: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *liob* (Starck and Wells 1990: 378) “lieblich, angenehm”; cf. OHG *-sangōn* II attested in other compounds, for which see *salmo-sangōn* (Raven II 1967: 125). Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

lisimen “stricken, (Schweiz) lismen” (Raven I 1963: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lisina* (Starck and Wells 1990: 379) “Frauenkleidungsstück, Wollstoff”. < MedLatin *lisinna* (Starck and Wells 1990: 379) “Frauenkleidungsstück”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (with development of medial 'n' to 'm').

lispēn “lispeln, plappern, faseln, stammeln” (Raven II 1967: 239). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OE *ā-wlispian*, *ā-wlyspian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 30) “to lisp”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **wlispējan* “to lisp, be lispings”. Further etymology uncertain. Possibly an onomatopoeic formation. Compare ON *lāspra* (Kluge 1989: 445) “lispeln”. OE *wlisp* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 417) “lispings” is most probably post verbal.

listen “auf dem Schoße, auf den Knien tändeln, nachgiebig machen, beschwichtigen, lindern, locken, schmeicheln” (Raven I 1963: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *list* (Starck and Wells 1990: 280) “Kunst, List”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

liuben “angenehm machen, mit Worten schmeicheln oder locken, lieben, liebhaben, sehnen, begehren” (Raven I 1963: 111). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-līefan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 218) “to be dear to”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **leubijan* “lieb haben, angenehm machen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *liob*, *liub* (Kluge 1989: 442) “anmutig, lieblich, wünschenswert, lieb”; OS *liof-* (Kluge 1989: 442) “lieb”; OFs. *liāf* (Kluge 1989: 442) “lieb”; OE *lōf* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 215) “dear, valued, beloved, pleasant, agreeable”; ON *ljúfr* (Kluge 1989: 442) “lieb, wert”; Gothic *liufs* (Kluge 1989: 442) “beloved”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **leubaz* (Kluge 1989: 442) “lieb, geliebt”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

liubēn “lieb oder angenehm sein oder werden, gefallen” (Schade I 1882: 564). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *lōfian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 216) “to be or become dear”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **leubējan* “to be or become dear”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *liuben*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

liubōn “lieben, gern haben” (Raven II 1967: 89). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *lōfian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 216) “to be or become dear”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **leubōjan* “lieben, gern haben”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *liuben*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

liudōn “singen, musizieren, (musikalisch) sich einüben, dichten, vortragen, (er)tönen, laut sein, jubeln, jauchzen, anschreien, Lied, Einklang” (Raven II 1967: 89). The following cognate verbs

are attested: OE *lēoðian* II (Lehmann 1986: 237) “to sing, rejoice”; ON *ljóða* II (Lehmann 1986: 237) “dichten, singen”; Gothic *liuþon* II (Lehmann 1986: 237) “to sing, praise”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **leuþōjanan* “to sing, praise”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *liod* (Starck and Wells 1990: 378) “Lied, Gesang”; OS *-loth* (Kluge 1989: 442) “Lied”; OE *lēoð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 216) “song, lay, poem”; ON *ljóð* (Kluge 1989: 442) “Strophe, Leid”; Gothic *awi-liuþ* (Lehmann 1986: 52) “thanks”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **leuþan* (Kluge 1989: 442) “Liedstrophe, pl. Lied”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

liuhten “leuchten, hell sein, funkeln, glänzen, strahlen” (Raven I 1963: 112). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *liohtian*, *liuhtian* I (Kluge 1989: 440) “leuchten”; OE *līhtan*, *līehtan*, *lȳhtan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 219) “to lighten, illuminate, give light, shine; grow light, dawn; kindle, light”; Gothic *liuhtjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 236) “to give light”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **leuhtjanan* (Kluge 1989: 440) “to lighten, make light”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *li(o)ht*, *leoht* (Kluge 1989: 441) “licht, hell”; OS *lioht* (Kluge 1989: 441) “licht, hell”; OE *lēoht*, *līht* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 216) “luminous, bright, light, clear, resplendent; renowned, beautiful”; cf. Gothic *liuhap* subst. (Kluge 1989: 441) “Licht”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **leuhtaz* (Kluge 1989: 441) “light, bright”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *duruh-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*

(h)liūtare “läutern, sühnen, reinigen, büßen, klar machen” (Raven I 1963: 113). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hlȳttrian*, *hlūtrian* II but probably originally class I, as shown by umlaut and gemination (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 187) “to clear, purify, make bright”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hlūtrijan* “läutern”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lūtār*, *hlūtār*, *hluttar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 390) “rein, lauter, klar”; OS *hluttar* (Kluge 1989: 432) “rein, lauter”; OFs. *hlutter* (Kluge 1989: 432) “rein, lauter”; OE *hlūtor*, *hlūttor* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 187) “pure, clear, bright, sincere”; Gothic *hlūtrs* (Kluge 1989: 432) “pure, clean”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hlūtraz* (Kluge 1989: 432) “lauter, rein”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

liutbāren “öffentlich bekannt werden” (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *liutbāri* (Starck and Wells 1990: 381) “öffentlich, allen zugänglich”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

(h)liuten, *(h)lūten* “lauten, tönen, ertönen, erschallen, singen, besingen, harmonisieren, widerhallen, widerschallen, zusammentönen, brüllen, (er)dröhnen, donnern, brausen, krachen, schreien, lärmern, laut rufen, klirren, schnalzen, trompeten, auf dem schneckenförmigen Horn das Zeichen geben, sprechen, hören lassen, (im Wechselgang) preisen, umherschwärmen” (Raven I 1963: 113). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *a-hludian* I (Holthausen 1967: 35) “verkünden”; OE *hlyðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 187) “to make a noise, sound, clamour, vociferate”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hlūdijan* (Kluge 1989: 432) “laut sein, lärmern, tönen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *hlūt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 390) “laut, schallend”; OS *hlūd* (Kluge 1989: 431) “laut”; OFs. *hlūd* (Kluge 1989: 431) “laut”; OE *hlūd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 187) “loud, noisy, sounding, sonorous”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hlūdaz* (Kluge 1989: 431) “laut”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *(ana-)*, *bi-*, *(eban-)*, *gagan-*, *gi-*, *ir-*, *missi-*

liutmāren “öffentlich bekanntmachen, laut aussagen” (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *liutmārī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 381) “Öffentlichkeit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

lizzitōn “ähnlich machen, abbilden, erheucheln” (Raven II 1967: 90). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **lizzitōjan* class II intensive deverbative from OHG weak verb *lizzōn* “heucheln”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

lizzōn “heucheln” (Raven II 1967: 90). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *liz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 382) “Vorwand”; MHG *litz*, *litze* (Schade I 1882: 567) “Grille, Laune, Albernheit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

lobēn “loben, rühmen, anerkennen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 382). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lobōn* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 445) “loben”; OFs. *lovīa* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 445) “loben”; OE *lofian* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 445) “to praise, exalt; appraise, value”; ON *lofa* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 445) “gestatten; loben, preisen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **lubējanan* “loben”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut zero grade of IE $\sqrt{*leubh-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 683) “gern haben, begehren; lieb, (zum Teil mit Entwicklung von 'gern haben' zu 'gutheißen, loben', im Germanischen auch von 'Liebe' zu 'Zutrauen, Vertrauen, Glaube“), from which base the following may also be derived: Latin *libet*, older *lubet* (Pokorny I 1956: 683) “es beliebt, ist gefällig”; Skt *lubhyati* (Pokorny I 1956: 683) “empfindet heftiges Verlangen”; Gothic *ga-laubjan* I, 'o'-grade (Pokorny I 1956: 683) “glauben”; Gothic *liufs* (Pokorny I 1956: 683) “lieb”; OCS *lubъ* zero grade (Pokorny I 1956: 683) “lieb”; Lith. *liaupse* (Pokorny I 1956: 683) “Lobpreisung”. The IE parallels seen in the Latin and Skt verbs provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

lobōn “loben, preisen, anpreisen, geloben, versprechen, verpflichten, Gerechtigkeit erweisen, hoch in Ehren halten, staunen über” (Raven II 1967: 90). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lobōn* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 445) “loben”; OFs. *lovīa* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 445) “loben”; OE *lofian* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 445) “to praise, exalt; appraise, value”; ON *lofa* II, originally class III? (Kluge 1989: 445) “gestatten; loben, preisen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **lubōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 445) “loben”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut zero grade of IE $\sqrt{*leubh-}$ (see under *lobēn*). The IE parallels seen in the Latin and Skt verbs provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *samant-*, *widar-*

lōhen “zittern, flackern” (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lōha* can be reconstructed from: MHG *lohe* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1029) “Lohe, lodernde Flamme”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

lōhezzen “leuchten, funkeln, Funken sprühen, blitzen, lodern, glühen, schimmern, glitzern, sprießen, rötlich (wie Gold) glänzen, gilben, heiß lieben, erglühen” (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I intensive deverbative from OHG class I weak verb *lōhen* (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

lohhōn “streicheln, liebkosen, fürsorgen” (Pfeifer II 1989: 1026). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **lukōjan* zero ablaut grade and expressive devoicing (Kluge 1989: 446) “to entice, flatter, caress”, class II deverbative from strong verb **leuganan* (Seebold 1970: 336) “lügen” (see under *lockōn*²). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

lohōn “waschen” (Raven II 1967: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **lukōjan* “waschen, spülen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably a guttural extension formed with ablaut zero-grade from IE $\sqrt{*lou-}$, **louā* (see under *luhhen*). As the IE forms attested above lack the guttural extension found in this verb, such an extension must be considered a later development. The verb cannot therefore be regarded as pre-Gmc. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

*lockōn*¹ “mit Stickarbeit oder desgleichen versehen, mit Locken versehen, die Haare schneiden” (Raven II 1967: 91). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *loc* (Starck and Wells 1990: 383) “Haarlocke, Haar”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

*lockōn*² “locken, erfreuen, reizen, fürsorgen, liebkosend streicheln oder klopfen” (Raven II 1967: 91). cf. OHG *lucken* I. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu. *locken* (de Vries 1962: 365) “locken”; OE *loccian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 221) “to attract, entice, soothe”; ON *lokka* II (Kluge 1989: 446) “locken”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **lukkōjan* zero ablaut grade, intensive gemination and expressive devoicing (Kluge 1989: 446) “to attract, entice through lies”, class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **leuganan* (Seebold 1970: 336) “lügen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *liogan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 336) “lügen, belügen”; OS *liogan* only present forms attested (Seebold 1970: 336) “lügen”; OFs. *liaga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 336) “lügen”; OE *lēogan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 216) “to lie, deceive, belie, betray; to be in error; to charge falsely”; ON *ljúga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 336) “lügen, belügen”; Gothic *liugan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 687) “lügen”. Therefore a NWGmc intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

lōnōn “(be)lohnēn, vergelten, strafen” (Raven II 1967: 92). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lōnōn* II (de Vries 1962: 348) “belohnen”; OFs. *lānia* II (de Vries 1962: 348) “belohnen”; OE *lēanian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 213) “to reward, recompense, repay, requite”; ON *launa* II (de Vries 1962: 347) “belohnen, vergelten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **launōjanan* “belohnen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lōn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 383) “Lohn, Preis, Vergeltung”; OS *lōn* (Kluge 1989: 447) “Lohn”; OFs. *lān* (Kluge 1989: 447) “Lohn”; OE *lēan* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 213) “reward, gift, loan, compensation, remuneration, retribution”; ON *laun* (Kluge 1989: 447) “Lohn, Bezahlung”; Gothic *laun* (Kluge 1989: 447) “reward, credit”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **launan* (Kluge 1989: 447) “Lohn”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

lōsen “lösen, befreien, losmachen, auflösen, zerstören, entrichten, bezahlen, lockern, ablösen, schlaff machen, öffnen, retten, erlösen, gesichert machen, zerreißen, vernichten, verlassen” (Raven I 1963: 115). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lōsian* I (Kluge 1989: 448) “lösen”; OFs. *lēsa* I (Kluge 1989: 448) “lösen”; OE *lēsan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 218) “to loosen, release, redeem, deliver, liberate”; ON *leysa* I (Kluge 1989: 448) “lösen, befreien; abmachen; bezahlen; abreisen”; Gothic *lausjan* I (Kluge 1989: 448) “to free, rescue”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lausijanan* “lösen, befreien”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lōs* (Starck and Wells 1990: 384) “los, frei, befreit, listig, leichtfertig”; OS *lōs* (Kluge 1989: 448) “los, frei”; OE *lēas* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 213) “without, free from, devoid of, bereft of; false, faithless, untruthful, deceitful”; ON *lauss* (Kluge 1989: 448) “frei, ungebunden”; Gothic *laus* (Kluge 1989: 448) “free from, empty”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lausaz* (Kluge 1989: 448) “los, frei”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*, *īz-*, *zi(r)-*, *zuo-gi-*,

(h)losēn “(reflex.+dat. pers.;+gen. rei) beachten, die Aufmerksamkeit auf etwas richten, aufmerksam achten, lauschen, sich richten (nach), hören, zuhören, horchen, gehorchen, losdonnern, das Zuhören” (Raven II 1967: 239). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hlausējan* “hören, lauschen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is an 's'-extension taking the 'o'-grade of ablaut and derives ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*kleu-}$, **kleuā-*, **klū-* (Pokorny 1956: 605) “hören, (aorist) wovon man viel hört, berühmt, Ruhm”, from which base the following may also be derived: ON *hler* (Pokorny 1956: 606) “das Lauschen”; ON *hlust* (Pokorny 1956: 606) “Ohr”; OE *hlyst* (Pokorny 1956: 607) “sense of hearing”; OE *hlystan* (Pokorny 1956: 607) “to listen, hear, attend to, obey”; OIr. *chlúas* (Pokorny 1956: 606) “Ohr”; OCS *slyšati* (Pokorny 1956: 607) “hören”; Skt *śroṣati* (Pokorny 1956: 606) “hört, horcht, gehorcht”; Toch.A *klyos-* (Pokorny 1956: 607) “hören”; Toch.B *klyaus-* (Pokorny 1956: 607) “hören”. Despite the fact that the verb is not attested in the Gmc languages outside OHG, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a possible pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-*, *hera-*, *gi-*, *zuo-*, *zuo-gi-*

loskēn “sich verstecken, sich verborgen halten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 384). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **loskējan* from an earlier **lotskējan* “sich verstecken”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is most likely an 'sk-present' formation from the IE $\sqrt{*leud-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 684) “sich ducken, geduckt, klein, sich vor jemand ducken, klein machen, heucheln”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *lūtan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 684) “to bend, stoop, decline; bow, make obeisance, fall down”; OE *lot* (Pokorny I 1956: 684) “Betrug”; Gothic *lutan* (Pokorny I 1956: 684) “betrügen, verführen”; ON *lýta* (Pokorny I 1956: 684) “verunzieren, entehren, tadeln”; OHG *luzil*, *luzzil* (Pokorny I 1956: 684) “klein, wenig, gering”; Lith. *liūstù*, *liusti* (Pokorny I 1956: 684) “traurig sein, gedrückt sein”; Russ. *ludítb* (Pokorny I 1956: 684) “betrügen, täuschen”. Despite the archaic nature of 'sk-present' verbs, there are no other forms attested for this verb in Gmc or IE. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as pre-Gmc. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

lōs-kōsōn “unzüchtig reden” (Raven II 1967: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *lōs* (Starck and Wells 1990: 384) “leichtfertig, listig, befreit”; cf. OHG *kōsōn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 342) “sich besprechen, reden, aussagen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

lōsungōn “erwägen” (Raven II 1967: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *-lōsunga* in *sēllōsunga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 516) “Gabe zur Erlösung der Seele, Almosen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

lōten “löten” (Raven I 1963: 117). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **lōt* “Lötmetall, Meßblei”, can be reconstructed from: MHG *lōt* (Kluge 1989: 449) “Lötmetall, Meßblei”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

louben “erlauben, gestatten, glauben” (Raven I 1963: 117). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-lōbian* I (Kluge 1989: 268); OFs. *lēva* I (Lehmann 1986: 141); OE *līfan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 218) “to allow, grant, concede; believe, trust, confide in”; ON *leyfa* I (Lehmann 1986: 141) “erlauben, loben”; Gothic *ga-laubjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 141) “to believe, permit”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **laubijanan* “to permit, allow”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ur-loub* (Lehmann 1986: 141) “leave”; MHG *loube* (Onions 1966: 521) “permission”; OS *or-lōf* (Lehmann 1986: 141) “permission”; MLG *lōf* (de Vries 1962: 354); OFs. *lēva* (Lehmann 1986: 141); OE *lāf* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 213) “leave, permission, privilege”; ON *leyfi* (Lehmann 1986: 141) “Erlaubnis”, which

allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **laub(j)az*, **laub(j)an* (Lehmann 1986: 141) “leave, permission, privilege”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *missi-*

loubēn “sich belauben, laubig sein oder werden, Laub bekommen, grünen” (Raven II 1967: 240). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see *loubōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

loubenen “Laub haben, belaubt sein, belaubte Zweige haben, grünen” (Raven I 1963: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *loub* (Kluge 1989: 430) “Blatt”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with n-extension).

loubezzen “Frühling machen, frühlingsmäßig oder lenzartig werden, wiedergrünen, (von Vögeln) = Frühlingslieder singen” (Raven I 1963: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. Class I intensive deverbative from OHG class III weak verb *loubēn* (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

loubirōn “ausschlagen, Knospen oder Blüten treiben, Laub haben” (Raven II 1967: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *loub* (Starck and Wells 1990: 385) “Laub, Laubwerk”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with r-extension).

loubōn “Laub bekommen” (Raven II 1967: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *loub* (Starck and Wells 1990: 385) “Laub, Laubwerk”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

(h)loufōn “umlaufen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 260). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hlaupōjan* (Seebold 1970: 260) class II deverbative from strong verb **hlaupanan* (Seebold 1970: 259) “laufen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *loufan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 260) “laufen, sich schnell bewegen”; OS *-hliopun* st. vb pret. pl. (Seebold 1970: 259). OFs. *hlāpa* st. vb pret. pl. (Seebold 1970: 259) “laufen, treten”; OE *hlēapan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 259) “laufen, treten, tanzen”; ON *hlaupa* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 259) “laufen, springen”; Gothic *uf-hlaupan* st. vb pret. pl. (Seebold 1970: 259). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

lougenen “leugnen, verleugnen, zurückweisen, ablehnen, anfeinden, angreifen, verneinen, zurückstoßen, abweisen, (von Personen und Sachen) = in Abrede stellen, nicht anerkennen, entwenden” (Raven I 1963: 119). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lōgnian* I (Kluge 1989: 440) “leugnen”; OFs. *leina* I (Seebold 1970: 337) “die Eidesleistung verweigern”; OE *līgnan*, *līgnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 219) “to deny”; ON *leyna* I (Kluge 1989: 440) “verbergen”; Gothic *laugnjan* I (Kluge 1989: 440) “to deny”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **laugnijanan* “leugnen, verneinen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *loug(u)na*, *lougan* (Kluge 1989: 440) “Leugnung”; ON *laun* (Kluge 1989: 440) “Heimlichkeit, Verborgenheit, Verbergen, Leugnung”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **laugnō* (Kluge 1989: 440) “Leugnung”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *ir-*

lougezzen “mit Feuer, flammend, flammen” (Raven I 1963: 120). cf. OHG *lōhezzen* I (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *loug*, *louc*, *laug* “Flamme” (Kluge 1989: 447). Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with intensive suffix *-ezzen* on analogy with intensive deverbatives).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ūz-*

lubben “vergiften” (Starck and Wells 1990: 387). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lubbian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 387) “vergiften”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **lubjjan* “vergiften”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lubbi* (Lehmann 1986: 237) “strong juice of plants, poison, sorcery”; OLG *lubbi* (Lehmann 1986: 237) “sap”; MDu. *lubbe* (Lehmann 1986: 237) “strong juice of plants, poison, sorcery”; OE *lybb* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 223) “drug, poison, charm, sorcery”; ON *lyf* (Lehmann 1986: 237) “healing herb, medicine”; Gothic *lubja-leis* (Lehmann 1986: 237) “sorcerers; knowing drugs or poisons”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lubjan* “poisonous or medicinal herb”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

lubbōn “heilen, vergiften, beschmieren, mit Gift bewaffnen, die Waffen in Gift eintauchen” (Raven II 1967: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under **lubben**. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

luhhen, liuhhen “waschen, spülen, bespülen, abspülen, die Wäsche lühen, baden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 388). cf. OHG *lohōn* II. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **luhjan* “waschen, spülen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably best regarded as a guttural extension from IE $\sqrt{*lou-}$, **louə* (Pokorny I 1956: 692) “waschen”, from which base the following may also be derived: OHG *louga* (Pokorny I 1956: 692) “Lauge”; Gaulish *lautro* (Pokorny I 1956: 692) “balneo”; OIr. *ló-chasair* (Pokorny I 1956: 692) “Regen”; Latin *lavāre* (Kluge 1989: 431) “waschen, baden”; Greek *λούω* (Kluge 1989: 431) “ich bade”; Hittite *la-hu-uz-zi* (Pokorny I 1956: 692) “gießt aus”. As there is no evidence for a guttural extension outside OHG in the forms given above, such an extension must be regarded as an OHG formation. The verb cannot therefore be pre-Gmc. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

lucken “locken, auffordern, fördern, applaudieren, günstig sein, schmeicheln, lieblosen, mildern, beschwichtigen” (Raven I 1963: 120). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the related Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is best considered a class I deverbative from the earlier class II verb *lockōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-, ir-*

(h)luoen “brüllen, dröhnen” (Raven I 1963: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hlōjan* class I weak deverbative from strong verb **hlōanan* (Seebold 1970: 265) “brüllen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *hlōwan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 187) “to low, roar, bellow”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

luogēn “(+gen. rei) die Blicke auf etwas richten, spähen nach, blicken, aus einem Versteck hervorsehen, sehen, schauen nach, lugen, das Obst, das zuerst am Baum hervorsteht, sichtbar hervortreten” (Raven II 1967: 240). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct a possible earlier form **lōgējan* “to look at”. cf. OS *lōkōn* II, mit Verschärfung oder Variation des Auslauts (Kluge 1989: 450) “blicken”; cf. OE *lōcian* II, mit Verschärfung oder Variation des Auslauts (Kluge 1989: 450) “to see, behold, look, gaze; observe, notice”. No further cognates are known, though possibly connected with Welsh *llygad* (Kluge 1989: 450) “Auge”. Further etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fram-, ir-, umbi-, ūz-*

(h)lūstaren “erstaunen, (von den Augen) = das Rollen oder Zwinkern, nach Ohrenkitzel verlangen tragen, (die Augen) zusammenkneifen, betäuben, verwirren, begeistern, jucken, lüstern oder geil sein, gierig nach etwas trachten oder verlangen, begierig lauern, gaffen” (Raven I 1963: 121). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *umbi-*, *zuo-*

lusten “lügen, gelüsten, begehren, gefällig sein, gefallen, ergötzen, erfreuen, lieben, hochschätzen, sich freuen, nach Ruhm verlangen, sich (ge)ziemen, wünschen, anlocken” (Raven I 1963: 121). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *lustian* I (de Vries 1962: 371) “lügen”; OE *lystan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 223) “to please, cause pleasure or desire, provoke longing”; ON *lysta* I (de Vries 1962: 371) “gelüsten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **lustijanan* “lügen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lust* (Starck and Wells 1990: 390) “Begierde, Lust, Anlockung”; OS *lust* (Kluge 1989: 451) “Lust”; OFs. *lust* (Kluge 1989: 451) “Lust”; OE *lust* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 222) “desire, appetite; pleasure; sensuous appetite, lust”; ON *losti* (Kluge 1989: 451) “Lust, Begierde, Freude”; Gothic *lustus* (Kluge 1989: 451) “desire, covetousness”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lustuz*, **lustiz* (Kluge 1989: 451) “Lust”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *folla-*, *gi-*

lustidōn “Neigung oder Verlangen zu etwas haben, sich an etwas ergötzen” (Raven II 1967: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lustida* (Schade 1882: 579) “delectatio”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

lustisōn “sich ergötzen, übermütig sein” (Raven II 1967: 93). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *lust* (Starck and Wells 1990: 390) “Begierde, Lust, Anlockung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with s-extension).

lustōn “begehren, sich freuen (über)” (Raven II 1967: 94). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *lustian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 222) “to delight in”; Gothic *luston* II (Lehmann 1986: 238) “to desire”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **lustōjanan* “to desire, take pleasure or delight in”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *lusten*). Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

lustrihhōn “umgehen, besichtigen” (Raven II 1967: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

lūzōn “sich verborgen beziehungsweise versteckt halten, verborgen liegen, heimlich lauern” (Raven II 1967: 241). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *lūzian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 223) “to lie hidden, hide, lurk, bend down to hide”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **lūzjan* “to lie hidden, lurk”, class III durative deverbative from strong verb **lūzanan* (Seebold 1970: 340) “sich neigen” (see under *luzzen*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

luzzen “verleumden, erniedrigen” (Raven I 1963: 122). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **lutjan* (Seebold 1970: 341) “schmähen, tadeln” class I zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **lūzanan* (Seebold 1970: 340) “sich neigen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *lūzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 341) “to bend, stoop, decline; bow, make obeisance, fall down”; ON *lúta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 340) “sich neigen, bücken (in Verehrung), niederstürzen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

luzzillihhōn “gering machen” (Raven II 1967: 94). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *luzzil* (Starck and Wells 1990: 392) “klein, gering”; cf. OHG *lihōn* II (Raven II 1967: 89) “ebnen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

M

māen “ausraufen, schneiden, teilen, verwelken, dürr werden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 393). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **mējan* (Seebold 1970: 347) “mähen” class I weak deverbative from strong verb **mēanan* (Seebold 1970: 347) “mähen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *māwan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 347) “to mow”; OFs. *mā* only present forms attested (Seebold 1970: 347) “mähen”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

mag “können, vermögen” (Seebold 1970: 342). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *mag* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 342) “können, vermögen, sollen”; OFs. *mei* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 342) “können, vermögen”; OE *mæg* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 342) “to be able to, can, may”; ON *má* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 342) “können, vermögen, sollen, dürfen”; Gothic *mag* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 342) “können, vermögen”; These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **mag* (Seebold 1970: 342) “kann”. This verb can be traced back to an IE $\sqrt{*magh-}$, **māgh-* (Pokorny I 1956: 695) “können, vermögen, helfen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *magha-* (Pokorny I 1956: 695) “Macht, Kraft, Reichtum, Gabe”; OPersian *magus* (Pokorny I 1956: 695) “Magier, Zauberer”; Greek *μῆχος* (Pokorny I 1956: 695) “Hilfsmittel”; OCS *mogo*, *mošti* (Pokorny I 1956: 695) “können, vermögen”; Lith. *māgulas* (Pokorny I 1956: 695) “zahlreich, viel”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present).

**maganōn* “herrschen, kräftigen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *magna* II (de Vries 1962: 375) “kräftigen (besonders durch Zauber)”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **magnōjanan* “kräftigen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *magan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 398) “Kraft, Stärke, Macht”; ON *magn* (de Vries 1962: 375) “Kraft, Macht”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **magnan* (Seebold 1970: 342) “Kraft, Macht”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*, *ubar-*

magaren “verzehren, aufzehren, hinschwinden, durch Mangel und Hunger erschöpft, schwächen, schwach werden, schwächen, mürbe machen” (Raven I 1963: 122). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *megra* I (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874: 421) “to make meagre, emaciate”; cf. OE *mægerian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 225) “to lacerate, make lean”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **magrijanan* “to make thin or meagre”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mager* (Kluge 1989: 454) “mager”; OE *mæger* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 225) “meagre, lean”; ON *magr* (Kluge 1989: 454) “mager”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **magraz* (Kluge 1989: 454) “mager”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

magēn “neu belebt oder gestärkt sein, lebendig oder kräftig sein, fest oder erwachsen” (Raven II 1967: 241). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **magējan* (Seebold 1970: 342), class III durative deverbative from preterite-present verb **mag* (see under *mag*). “kann, vermag”. This verb is attested in the following: Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

mahalen “reden, ein Übereinkommen, einen Vertrag schließen, zur Braut, zur Frau nehmen; zusammensprechen, verloben” (Pfeifer I 1989: 532). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *mahlian* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 532) “reden, verloben”; OFs. *mālia* II (de Vries 1962: 399) “reden”; OE *maðelian* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 532) “to harangue, make a speech, speak”; ON *mæla* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 532) “reden, sprechen”; Gothic *maþljan* I (Pfeifer I 1989: 532) “reden”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **maþlijanan* with transition from *þl* to *hl* in OHG and OS

“reden, sprechen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mahal* (Pfeifer I 1989: 532) “Gericht, Gerichtsstätte, Versammlung, Vertrag”; OS *mahal* (Pfeifer I 1989: 532) “(Gerichts)stätte, Versammlung, Rede”; OE *mædel* (Pfeifer I 1989: 532) “council, meeting, popular assembly; speech, interview”; ON *mál* (Pfeifer I 1989: 532) “Versammlung, Verabredung; Sprache, Rede; Rechtssprache; Spruch, Strophe”; Gothic *maþl* (Pfeifer I 1989: 532) “Versammlungsort, Markt”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **maþlan* (with transition from *þl* to *hl* in OHG and OS) “festes Wort, Verhandlung, Versammlung”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

mahalōn “anklagen, vor Gericht bringen, zu einem Rechtsstreit kommen, rügen, in Decurien einteilen” (Raven II 1967: 94). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *mēlia* II (de Vries 1962: 399). OE *maðelian* II (Pfeifer I 1989: 532) “to harangue, make a speech, speak”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **maþlōjan* with transition from *þl* to *hl* in OHG “reden, sprechen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *mahalen*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *gi-*

mahhōn “machen, Freundschaft machen, ausführen, verteidigen, verrichten, zu Stande bringen, hervorbringen, anstellen, bewirken, verfassen, (be)treiben, handeln, weben, einen Weg schneiden” (Raven II 1967: 94). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *makōn* II (Kluge 1989: 453) “machen”; OFs. *makia* II (Kluge 1989: 453) “machen”; OE *macian* II (Kluge 1989: 453) “to make, form, construct, do; prepare, arrange, cause”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **makōjan* (Kluge 1989: 453) “machen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*mag-}$ (Kluge 1989: 453) “kneten, drücken, streichen; (specialization in Gmc in the field of clay working) kneten, formen, zusammenfügen”. From which base the following may also be derived: Greek μάσσω (Kluge 1989: 453) “ich knete, presse, wische ab, bilde ab”; OCS *mazati* (Kluge 1989: 453) “bestreichen, beschmieren, salben”; Latvian *iz-muōzēt* (Kluge 1989: 453) “anshmieren”; Breton *maza* (Kluge 1989: 453) “kneten”. Despite the semantic development that took place in Gmc and the confinement of attested forms to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-gi-*, *bi-*, *gi-*, *in(t)-*, *missi-*, *sama-*, *ubar-*, *untar-*, *zisamene-gi-*, *zuo-gi-*

mālōn “abbilden, malen, (im Geiste) ausmalen, zeichnen, auf-, be-, verzeichnen, mit einem Zeichen versehen, darstellen, verzieren, schmücken, nachahmen, täuschen, schminken, die Augenränder mit Schminke umzeichnen, färben, schreiben, täfeln, tünchen” (Raven II 1967: 241). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *māl* (Kluge 1989: 457) “Mal, Zeichen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fora-gi*, *gi-*, *int-*

mālezzēn “sorgfältig oder mit allen Einzelheiten zeichnen oder malen” (Raven I 1963: 122). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **mālatjan* “sorgfältig malen”, class I intensive deverbative from either OHG **mālōjan* II or **mālējan* III in: OHG *mālōn* II, *mālēn* III (Starck and Wells 1990: 396) “malen, bemalen, malend abbilden”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

mālōn “malen, bemalen, malend abbilden” (Starck and Wells 1990: 396). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see *mālōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

mammalōn “undeutlich sprechen, in den Bart murmeln, stammeln; (Bavarian) memmeln” (Schade I 1882: 587). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mamma* (Starck and Wells 1990: 396) “säugende Brust; (Bavarian)

Memme". The picture here may be that of a stammerer appearing like a baby sucking its mother's breast.

Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with diminutive l-extension).

mammunten "besänftigen, zahm machen oder werden, zivilisieren, schmeicheln, liebkosend streicheln, reizen, (an)locken" (Raven I 1963: 122). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mammunti* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 397) "besänftigend, zärtlich, weich". Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

mammuntōn "besänftigen" (Raven II 1967: 98). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see *mammunten*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

mammuntsamōn "ergötzen" (Raven II 1967: 98). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mammuntsam* (Schade I 1882: 587) "lenis, blandus". Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

managfaltōn "vermehren, vervielfältigen" (Raven II 1967: 98). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *manigfealdian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 229) "to multiply, abound, increase, extend", which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **managfalōōjan* "to multiply". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *managfalt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 397) "mannigfaltig"; OS *managfald* (Schade I 1882: 588) "vielfältig"; OE *manigfeald* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 229) "manifold, various, varied, complicated; numerous, abundant; plural"; Gothic *managfalþs* without grammatical change (Lehmann 1986: 243) "many times more, manifold", which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **managfalōaz* "manifold". Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

managluomen "vervielfältigen, jede Zahl übersteigen" (Raven I 1963: 123). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **managluomi* "vielfältig" can be reconstructed from: OHG *manag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 397) "viel, zahlreich"; OHG *-luomi* suffix attested in *gastluomi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 193) "gastfreundlich". Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

manahoubitōn "zu eigen geben, zum Eigentum übergeben" (Raven II 1967: 98). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *manahoubit* (Starck and Wells 1990: 398) "Haussklave". Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

mandil-kōsōn "ausgelassen sprechen, schwärmerisch reden, jubeln, liebkosten" (Raven II 1967: 98). No cognate verbs are attested. cf OHG **mandil* in MHG *mendel-trahen* (Lexer I 1872: 2098) "Freudenträhne"; cf. OHG *kōsōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 342) "sich besprechen, reden, aussagen". Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

manēn "mahnen" (Raven II 1967: 242). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **manējan* (Seebold 1970: 346), class III deverbative from preterite-present **man* (Seebold 1970: 345) "meint, erinnert sich" (see under *manōn*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *ir-*

mangalōn "(+gen. rei) entbehren, ermangeln, fehlen" (Raven II 1967: 98). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **mangalōjan* class II frequentative / continuative deverbative from OHG weak verb **mangōjan* attested in MHG *mangen* (Kluge 1989: 459) "ermangeln, entbehren". Therefore an OHG frequentative / continuative deverbative (formed with l-extension).

***mangōn** “mangeln, entbehren”. MHG *mangen* lack of umlaut indicates probable origin in class II or class III (Kluge 1989: 459) “ermangeln, entbehren”. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a ***mangōjan** “mangeln, fehlen, entbehren”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably a guttural extension deriving ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*men-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 728) “klein, verkleinern; vereinzelt”. From which base the following may be derived: Skt *manāk* k-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 729) “ein wenig”; Arm. *manr* (Pokorny I 1956: 728) “klein, dünn, fein”; Greek (Attic) *μάνος* (Pokorny I 1956: 728) “dünn, locker”; OIr. *mín* (Pokorny I 1956: 728) “glatt, sanft”; Welsh *di-fanw* (Pokorny I 1956: 729) “unbedeutend”; Lith. *meñktas* k-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 729) “gering, unbedeutend”; Toch.B *menki* k-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 729) “minder”; Hittite *ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an-te-eš* k-extension nom.pl. (Pokorny I 1956: 729) “kurz”. Despite the confinement of attested forms to OHG and the absence of verbal forms in the IE parallels given above, there are sufficient data to allow for the reconstruction of an IE adjective “small, a little”. This adjective can then be seen to be the etymon for a pre-Gmc deadjectival verb. The verb can therefore be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum.

mānōd-fallō- “irrsinnig, mondsüchtig” (Raven II 1967: 99). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *mānōd* (Starck and Wells 1990: 400) “Monat”; cf. OHG *-fallōn* in *ana-fallōn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 182) “befallen, überfallen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (occurring only in preterite participle form).

manōn “mahnen, ermahnen, rufen, einen an etwas erinnern (=gen rei et acc. pers., reflex.) sich erinnern, auffordern, antreiben” (Raven II 1967: 99). cf. OHG *manēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *manōn* II (Seebold 1970: 346) “mahnen”; OE *manian*, *monian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 229) “to remind, admonish, warn, exhort, instigate; instruct, advise”, which allows us to reconstruct a ***manōjan** (Seebold 1970: 346), class II deverbative preterite-present verb ***man** (Seebold 1970: 345) “meint, erinnert sich”. This verb is attested in the following: OS *-man* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 346) “verleugne”; OE *man* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 346) “I think about, am mindful of, remember”; ON *mun* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 346) “gedenke, erinnere mich”; Gothic *man* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 345) “meint, glaubt, hält dafür”. Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *zuo-*

mantalōn “mit einem Mantel bekleiden, wie mit einem Mantel bedecken” (Raven II 1967: 99). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mantal* (Kluge 1989: 460) “Mantel, Überwurf”. < Latin *mantellum*, *mantelum* (Kluge 1989: 460) “Hülle, Decke”. < Latin *mantum* (Kluge 1989: 460) “kurzer Mantel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

marawen “das Schiff fest machen oder anbinden, verbinden, landen” (Raven I 1963: 123). No cognate verbs are attested. The derivational pattern and etymology of this verb are unclear. It derives ultimately from a Gmc complex based on the root $\sqrt{*mer-}$, ***mar-** “to moor”, from which base the following are also derived: MDu. *māren*, *mēren* (Barnhart 1988: 676) “to tie up, moor”; LG *vermoren* (Barnhart 1988: 676) “to moor”; OFs. *mere* (Barnhart 1988: 676) “strap”; OE *mārels-rāp* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 226) “ship's rope, cable”; Modern Engl. *to moor* (Barnhart 1988: 676). This complex does not appear to have any connections outside Gmc. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

marcōn “abstecken, abgrenzen, begrenzen, bestimmen, bezeichnen, abschätzen” (Raven II 1967: 99). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *markōn* II (Pfeifer II 1989: 1093). OFs. *merkia* II (Kluge 1989: 474). OE *mearcian* II (Kluge 1989: 474) “to mark, stain, brand, seal; mark a boundary, measure, define, describe, designate”; ON *marka* II (Kluge 1989: 474) “kennzeichnen, verwunden, malen, bekanntmachen, erteilen, verstehen”, which allows us to

reconstruct a NWGmc **markōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 474) “merken, kennzeichnen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *merken*). Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *fora-gi-*, *gi-*, *gi-untar-*, *ir-*, *umbi-*, *untar-*

māren “verkünden, bekannt oder berühmt machen, weissagen, prophezeien, warnen, ermahnen, predigen, schwärmen, träumen, phantasieren, lehren, ruchbar machen, verbreiten, ankündigen, offenbaren, öffentlich ausrufen, erklären, erläutern, zeigen, übertragen” (Raven I 1963: 123). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *mārian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 401) “rühmen, bekannt machen, unter Leute bringen”; OE *māran* I (de Vries 1962: 399) “to declare, proclaim, celebrate, glorify, honour”; ON *māra* I (de Vries 1962: 399) “preisen, loben”; Gothic *merjan* I (de Vries 1962: 399) “to proclaim, announce”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **mērijanan* “verkünden, bekannt machen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *māri* (Starck and Wells 1990: 401) “berühmt, bekannt”; OS *māri* (de Vries 1962: 399). OE *māre* (de Vries 1962: 399) “famous, great, excellent, sublime, celebrated, widely known”; ON *mārr* (de Vries 1962: 399) “berühmt”; cf. Gothic *waila-mēreis* (de Vries 1962: 399) “praiseworthy”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **mēriz* “berühmt, bekannt”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *fora-gi-*, *gi-*, *ir-*

martirōn “martern, zum Märtyrer machen, den Märtyrertod leiden, leiden machen, foltern, hinrichten, köpfen” (Raven II 1967: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *martira*, *martyra*, *mart(a)ra* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1068) “Leiden, Märtyrertum, Blutzeugnis, Christi Pasion, Kruzifix, Qual, Pein, Verfolgung”. <Ecclesiastical Latin *martyrium* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1068) “Blutzeugnis für die Wahrheit des Christentums, Märtyrertum” < Greek μαρτύριον (Pfeifer II 1989: 1068) “(Blut)zeugnis, Beweis, Zeichen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

masarēn “knorrig oder maserig sein oder werden” (Raven II 1967: 243). cf. OHG *masarōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 403). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *masar* (Starck and Wells 1990: 403) “knorriger Auswuchs am Baum, Geschwulst”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

māwen “schreien” (Pokorny I 1956). We can therefore reconstruct a **mā(w)jan* “schreien”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. The exact phonology involved is unclear, but it probably derives from IE $\sqrt{*mu-}$, **mū-* (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “(Schallnachahmung für den mit gepreßten Lippen erzeugten dumpfen Laut) undeutlich reden, unartikulierte murmeln”. From which base the following may also be derived: OHG *mutilōn* t-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “murmeln”; MHG *mūhen*, *mūgen*, *mūwen* guttural extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “brüllen”; MLG *mucken* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1132) “den Mund kaum auf tun und halblaut murmeln”; East Fs. *muk* g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 752) “Kuß”; Mid.Engl. *mutteren* t-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “to mutter”; Norw. *mua* (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “schweigen, nicht mucksen”; OCS *myka* guttural extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “Gebrüll”; Latin *mutīre* t-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “mucksen”; Latin *mūgīre* g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “brüllen”; Umbrian *muīeto* g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “muttūm”; Greek μύ, μῦ (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “Ausruf gepreßten Schmerzes”; Greek μύζω g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “bringe mit geschlossenen Lippen einen Laut hervor, stöhne”; Greek μυκάομαι (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “ich brülle”; Skt *muñjati*, *mojati* g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “gibt einen Ton von sich”. This IE complex was extremely productive in the various daughter languages. The resulting derivational complexity consequently obscures the derivational profile of verbs belonging to this complex. Therefore, the safest etymology is to consider this verb an OHG derivation. Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

māzzōn “ermessen” (Raven II 1967: 100). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *māz(a)* (Starck and Wells 1990: 404) “Maß, Ausmaß”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

**meginōn* “herrschen, kräftigen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mægenian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 2250 “to gain strength, establish, confirm”; ON *megna* II (de Vries 1962: 381) “stark machen, vermögen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **maginōjan* “stark machen, kräftigen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *megan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 398) “Kraft, Stärke, Macht”; OS *megin* (de Vries 1962: 375). OE *mægen* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 224) “bodily strength, might, main, force, power, vigour, valour; virtue, efficacy”; ON *megn, megn* (de Vries 1962: 381) “Kraft, Macht”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **magnan* (Seebold 1970: 342) “Kraft, Macht”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-, ubar-*

meinen “meinen, im Sinne haben, bezeichnen, bedeuten, mitteilen, sagen, singen, vortragen, besprechen, berichten, erwidern” (Raven I 1963: 124). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *mēnian* I (Kluge 1989: 471) “meinen, erwähnen, erwecken”; OFs. *mēna* I (Kluge 1989: 471) “meinen”; OE *mēnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 226) “to mean, signify, intend, consider; to tell, mention, relate, declare, communicate to, speak of; speak (a language); to lament, bewail, sorrow, grieve”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mainjanan* “meinen, erwähnen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from IE $\sqrt{*mein-}$, **moin* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1085) “Meinung, Absicht, meinen”. From which base the following may also be derived: OCS *meniti* (Kluge 1989: 471) “gedenken, erwähnen”; OIr. *mían* (Kluge 1989: 471) “Wunsch, Verlangen”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, fir-, forabi-, zuobi-, zuogi-*

meisterōn “lehren, vorstehen, verwalten, verfügen, herrschen, anordnen” (Raven II 1967: 101). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *meister* (Starck and Wells 1990: 406) “Meister, Lehrer”. < Latin *magister* (Kluge 1989: 472) “Meister, Vorstand, Anführer”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

meitisōn “gegen jemandem wüten, mit Zorn gegen ihn aufwallen” (Raven II 1967: 101). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *meit* in *gi-meit* (Onions 1966: 544) “foolish, vain, boastful”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

**meizen* “entziehen, trennen, abschneiden” (Raven I 1963: 126). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *meita* I (Seebold 1970: 344) “beschneiden, abtrennen”, which allows us to reconstruct a **maitejanan* (Seebold 1970: 344) “beschneiden, abtrennen”, class I deverbative from strong verb **maitanan* (Seebold 1970: 343) “abschneiden”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *meizzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 343) “abhauen, anschneiden, einschneiden, zerschneiden”; Gothic *maitan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 343) “scheiden, hauen”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *aba-fir-, fir-*

meldēn “(+acc. et. dat. pers.) angeben, anklagen, anzeigen, bekanntmachen, erzählen, kundtun, nennen, offenbaren, vorführen, überführen, verraten, in üblen Ruf bringen” (Raven II 1967: 243). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *melda* (Kluge 1989: 472) “Anzeige, Verrat”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-, gi-*

menden “sich freuen, frohlocken, lenzartig werden, blühen, prangen, jubeln, jauchzen, verkündigen, melden, anzeigen, umherschwärmen” (Raven I 1963: 127). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *mendian* I (Schade I 1882: 602) “sich freuen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mandjanan* “sich freuen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is an ablaut 'o'-grade verb deriving ultimately from an IE $\sqrt{*mendh-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 730) “seinen Sinn worauf richten, lebhaft sein”. From which base the following may also be derived: ON *munda* II, zero-grade (Pokorny I 1956: 730) “zielen”; Gothic *mundon* II, zero-grade (Pokorny I 1956: 730) “auf etwas sehen”; OCS *modrъ* (Pokorny I 1956: 730) “gescheit, klug”; Lith. *mañdras, mandrùs* (Pokorny I 1956: 730) “munter, übermütig”; Greek $\mu\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ (Pokorny I 1956: 730) “ich lerne”; Skt *mēdha-* (Pokorny I 1956: 730) “Weisheit, Einsicht, Verstand”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

mendilōn “angenehm sein, Freude bezeigen” (Raven II 1967: 101). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mendi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 407) “Freude, Frohlocken”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with l-extension).

mengen¹ “mangeln, darben, fehlen, entbehren, bedürfen” (Raven I 1963: 127). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **mangjanan* “mangeln, fehlen, entbehren”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably a guttural extension deriving ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*men-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 728) “klein, verkleinern; vereinzelt”. From which base the following may also be derived: Skt *manāk* k-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 729) “ein wenig”; Arm. *manr* (Pokorny I 1956: 728) “klein, dünn, fein”; Greek (Attic) $\mu\alpha\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (Pokorny I 1956: 728) “dünn, locker”; OIr. *min* (Pokorny I 1956: 728) “glatt, sanft”; Welsh *di-fanw* (Pokorny I 1956: 729) “unbedeutend”; Lith. *meñktas* k-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 729) “gering, unbedeutend”; Toch.B *menki* k-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 729) “minder”; Hittite *ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an-te-eš* k-extension, nom.pl. (Pokorny I 1956: 729) “kurz”. Despite confinement to OHG and the absence of verbal forms in the IE parallels given above, there are sufficient data to allow for the reconstruction of an IE adjective “small, a little”. This adjective can then be seen to be the etymon for a pre-Gmc deadjectival verb. The verb can therefore be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

mengen² “(ver)mischen” (Raven I 1963: 127). The following cognate verbs are attested: OFs. *mendza* I (Kluge 1989: 473) “to mix”; OE *mengan* I (Kluge 1989: 473) “to mix, combine, unite; associate with, cohabit with; disturb; converse”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mangjanan* “to mix, combine”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*menank, *menk-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 730) “kneten (quetschen, zermalmen)”. From which base the following may also be derived: Skt *macate, mañcate* (Pokorny I 1956: 730) “zermalmen”; Alb. *mekem* (Pokorny I 1956: 731) “mache feucht, werde ohnmächtig, erstarre”; Greek $\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ (Barnhardt 1988: 663) “ich drücke, knete, streiche, wische”; OCS *mekъkъ* (Pokorny I 1956: 731) “weich”; Lith. *minkyti* (Pokorny I 1956: 731) “(Teig) kneten”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

mennen “(1)(das Vieh) vortreiben (=vorführen), ein Gespann führen, (das Vieh durch Drohungen und desgleichen) antreiben; (2) gerichtlich vorladen” (Raven I 1963: 312). No cognate verbs are attested. (In sense 1) < Latin *mināre, menāre* (Niemeyer 1976: 682) “to drive animals, drive a vehicle; lead an army; steer; pursue”. (In sense 2) < Latin *mannāre* (Niemeyer 1976: 638) “to sue, implead; summon to appear in court”. Therefore an OHG loan verb (fusion of two separate Latin verbs).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

mērōn “mehr sein, größer sein oder werden, hervorragen” (Raven II 1967: 244). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see *mērōn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

merken “merken, bezeichnen, bestimmen, abgrenzen, begrenzen, einschränken” (Raven I 1963: 127). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *merkian* II (Pfeifer II 1989: 1093) “markieren, bezeichnen, spüren”; ON *merkja* I (Kluge 1989: 474) “kenntlich machen, bezeichnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **markijanan* (Kluge 1989: 474) “merken, kennzeichnen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: MHG *marc* (Kluge 1989: 462) “Zeichen”; MLG *mark* (Kluge 1989: 462) “Zeichen”; OE *mearc* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 231) “mark, sign, line of division; standard; boundary, limit, term, border; defined area”; ON *mark* (Kluge 1989: 462) “Zeichen, Kennzeichen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **markan* (Kluge 1989: 462) “Zeichen”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*, *bi-*, *gi-*, *zuo-*

mērōn “(ver)mehren, vergrößern” (Raven II 1967: 102). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-mārian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 230) “to increase”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **maizōjan* “to increase”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mēr* (Starck and Wells 1990: 408) “mehr, größer, vielmehr, sogar”; OE *māra* (Kluge 1989: 470) “more; greater, stronger”; ON *meiri* (Kluge 1989: 470) “mehr”; Gothic *maizo* (Kluge 1989: 470) “greater, larger”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **maizōn* (Kluge 1989: 470) “mehr”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

merren “hindern, schrecken, entgegen oder hinderlich sein, stören, schädigen, schänden, schminken, schmähen, verleumden” (Raven I 1963: 128). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *merrian* I (Lehmann 1986: 246) “to give offence, prevent, injure, mar”; OLFrank *merran* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 410) “hindern, hemmen, vereiteln”; OE *mierran*, *merran* *myrran* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 237) “to mar, disturb, confuse, scatter, squander, waste; upset, hinder, obstruct”; ON *merja* I (Onions 1966: 554) “schlagen, zerschlagen”; Gothic *marzjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 246) “to hinder, offend”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **marzjanan* (Barnhardt 1988: 632) “to hurt, harm”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the ablaut 'o'-grade of IE $\sqrt{*mer-}$, **mer-s-* (Pokorny I 1956: 737) “stören, ärgern, vernachlässigen, vergessen”. From which base the following may also be derived: Skt *mrsyati* (Pokorny I 1956: 737) “vergißt, vernachlässigt, verzeiht”; Arm. *moranam* (Pokorny I 1956: 737) “vergesse”; Lith. *miršti*, *mirštù* (Pokorny I 1956: 737) “vergessen”; Latvian *àiz-mirstu*, *àiz-mirst* (Pokorny I 1956: 737) “vergessen”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *fora-*, *gi-*

mesten “mästen, abweiden, abfressen, verzehren, ausdehnen, vollfüllen, gemästet werden, was gemästet werden kann” (Raven I 1963: 128). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mæstan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 227) “to feed with mast, fatten; annoint”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mastijan* “to feed with mast”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mast* (Kluge 1989: 466) “Fütterung”; OS *mast* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1073) “Mast”; OE *mæst* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1073) “mast, food of swine, acorns, beechnuts”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mastō* (Kluge 1989: 466) “Mast”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

metamēn “das rechte Maß geben, gehörig abmessen, regeln, die Lebensstage eines Menschen auf die Hälfte bringen” (Raven II 1967: 244). The following cognate verbs are attested: The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *metamo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 411) “mittel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

mezhaftigōn “gehörig einrichten, mäßigen” (Raven II 1967: 102). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mezhaftig* (Schade I 1882: 606) “modificatus”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

mezhaftōn “mäßigen, im Zaume halten” (Raven II 1967: 102). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mezhaft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 411) “gemäßigt, maßhaltend”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

mezsamōn “sich mäßigen” (Raven II 1967: 102). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **mezsam* “mäßig”; cf. OHG *mez* (Starck and Wells 1990: 411) “Maß, Art und Weise”; cf. OHG *-sam* suffix forming adjectives (Kluge 1989: 616). Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

mezzalōn “dreschen” (Raven II 1967: 102). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

mezzōn “mäßigen, ein Maß setzen, besänftigen” (Raven II 1967: 102). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *metgian*, *metian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 235) “to moderate, control, govern; weigh in mind, consider; assign due measure to; prepare, regulate”; (cf. also OE *geþanc-metian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 355) “to think over, deliberate”); Gothic *miton* II (Seebold 1970: 353) “ermessen, überlegen”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **metōjanan* (Seebold 1970: 353) class II deverbative from strong verb **metanan* (Seebold 1970: 352) “messen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *mezzan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 353) “messen, zahlen, gewähren”; OS *metan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 353) “wofür halten”; OFs. *meta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 353) “messen”; OE *metan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 234) “to measure, mete out, mark off; estimate”; ON *meta* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 352) “abschätzen, zumessen, abmessen”; Gothic *mitan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 353) “messen”. Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *eban-*, *gagan-*, *gi-*, *gi-eban-*, *ingagan-*, *widar-*

mieten “Personen in Lohn nehmen, anwerben, mieten, dingen, pachten, belohnen, vereinigen, übereinkommen, Geld geben, Markt machen, kaufen, schachern, feilschen, erschachern, bestechen, erkaufen, (sich) verdingen” (Raven I 1963: 129). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *on-mēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 265) “to presume, take upon oneself”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mizdijan* “belohnen, Personen in Lohn nehmen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mieta* (Kluge 1989: 477) “Lohn, Bezahlung”; OS *mēda* (Kluge 1989: 477) “Lohn, Bezahlung”; OFs. *mēde* (Lehmann 1986: 259) “rent, gift”; OE *meord*, *mēd* with loss of medial 'r' (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 233) “meed, reward, pay, price, compensation, bribe”; Lombardic *meta* (Lehmann 1986: 259) “compensatory action”; Gothic *mizdo* (Kluge 1989: 477) “recompense, reward”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **mizdō* (Kluge 1989: 477) “Lohn, Bezahlung”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *in-gi-*

mihhilōn “hervorragen, hervorstehen (wie kreisförmige Traghenkel)” (Raven II 1967: 245). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *miclian*, *micelian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 235) “to become great; increase”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mikilējan* “to be or become great or large”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: (see under *mihhilōn*). Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

mihhillihōn “verherrlichen, groß machen, preisen, prahlen, rühmen” (Raven II 1967: 103). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mihhillih* (Starck and Wells 1990: 413) “herrlich, großartig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

mihhilōn “preisen” (Raven II 1967: 103). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *miclian*, *micelian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 235) “to make great, make larger, magnify, extol”; ON *mikla* II (de Vries 1962: 387) “vergrößern, ehren”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **mikilōjanan* “to make great or large”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mihhil* (Lehmann 1986: 254) “groß, großartig, mächtig”; OS *mikil* (Lehmann 1986: 254) “groß”; OE *micel* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 235) “great, intense, much, many”; ON *mikill* (Lehmann 1986: 254) “groß”; Gothic *mikils* (Lehmann 1986: 254) “great, large”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **mikilaz* “great, large”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

mihhilisōn “verherrlichen” (Raven II 1967: 103). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mihhil* (Lehmann 1986: 254) “groß, großartig, mächtig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb (formed with s-extension).

milten “bemitleiden, Mitleid fühlen, sich jemandes erbarmen oder annehmen (+dat, +gen.)” (Raven I 1963: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *milti* (Starck and Wells 1990: 414) “mild, gelind, wohlthätig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

minnirōn “kleiner, geringer machen oder werden, (ver)mindern, abnehmen” (Raven II 1967: 104). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *miniro* comparative adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 415) “kleiner”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

minnōn “sich lieben, lieb gewinnen, sich mit Liebe entflammen, menschenfreundlich behandeln, ein Liebling sein, sich anhängen, vor Liebe hinschmachten, neiden, nachlaufen, pflegen” (Raven II 1967: 103). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *minniōn*, *minneōn* (Schade I 1882: 612) “minnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **minnjōjan* “to love”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *minna* (Starck and Wells 1990: 415) “Zueignung, Liebe”; OS *minnia*, *minnea* (Kluge 1989: 480) “Liebe”; OFs. *minne* (Kluge 1989: 480) “Liebe”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **minnjō* “Zueignung, Liebe”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

mirrōn, *gi-mirrōn* “mit Myrrhe versehen” (Raven II 1967: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mirra* (Starck and Wells 1990: 416) “Myrrhe”. Therefore an OHG denominative past participle construction.

miskelōn “mischen” (Raven II 1967: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. <Medieval Latin *misculāre* (Schade I 1882: 612) “mischen”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*, *gi-*, *zisamene-*

miskēn “mischen, mengen, mischend trüben” (Raven I 1963: 130). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *miscēre* (Kluge 1989: 481) “mischen”; cf. OE *miscian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 238) “to mix, apportion”. This is probably an independant borrowing. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *duruh-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, *in-*, *untar-*, *zisamene-*

missen “vermissen, ohne etwas sein, etwas nicht haben oder nicht besitzen, etwas meiden, entbehren, verzichten müssen” (Raven I 1963: 131). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *missen* (Kluge 1989: 481). OFs. *missa* I (Kluge 1989: 481). OE *missan* I (Kluge 1989: 481) “to miss (a mark); escape the notice of a person”; ON *missa* I (Kluge 1989: 481) “missen, verlieren”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **missijanan* (Kluge 1989: 481) “missen,

vermieden haben”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *missi* adjective and prefix (Pfeifer II 1989: 1111) “verschieden”; OS *mis-* prefix (Kluge 1989: 481) “mis-”; MLG *misse*, *mis* adj., adv. (Pfeifer II 1989: 1111) “falsch, sein Ziel nicht erreichend, ermangelnd”; MDu *mis*, *mes* adj. (Pfeifer II 1989: 1111) “verfehlt, falsch, ungleich”; OE *mis-* prefix (Kluge 1989: 481) “mis-”; ON *mis-* prefix in relics (Kluge 1989: 481) “mis-”; Gothic *missō* adv. (Pfeifer II 1989: 1111) “einander, wechselseitig”; Gothic *missa-* prefix (Kluge 1989: 481) “mis-”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **missaz* adjective and prefix (Kluge 1989: 481) “verschieden, nicht übereinstimmend, ausgewechselt, verkehrt, falsch, schlecht, übel, mangelnd, fehlend”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

missi-brieven “Unrecht vor Gericht laden” (Raven I 1963: 15). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-brūhen “aufbrauchen, verbrauchen, ausnutzen, mißbrauchen” (Raven I 1963: 20). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-denken “schlecht, übel denken” (Raven I 1963: 27). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-ferren “abweichen, sich abwenden von, irren” (Raven I 1963: 293). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-haben “sich übel befinden, sich grämen über, trauern, sich seinen Schmerzen hingeben, den Mut verlieren” (Raven I 1963: 303). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-habēn “(reflex.) sich übel verhalten, (vom See) = unruhig sein” (Raven II 1967: 223). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-hengen “widersprechen, abweichen, nicht übereinstimmen, uneinig sein” (Raven I 1963: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-kēren “verdrehen, falsch erklären, mißkehren, verkehrt, umstürzen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 90). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-lebēn “ein schlechtes Leben führen, übel leben” (Raven II 1967: 234). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mis-lybban* III (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 238) “to lead a bad life”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

missi-leggen “auseinanderspreizen” (Raven I 1963: 312). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-leiten “mißleiten, verleiten, entführen” (Raven I 1963: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mis-lēdan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 238) “to mislead”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

missi-līhhēn “(+dat. pers.) mißfallen, verdrießen” (Raven II 1967: 236). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mis-līcian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 238) “to displease, disquiet”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

missilīhhēn “bunt machen, unterscheiden, sich verändern, wechseln” (Raven II 1967: 105). cf. OHG *missilīhhēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mislician* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 377) “to displease”; ON *mislika* II (Fritzner II 1954: 711) “to displease”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **missaleikōjanan* “be different or dissimilar, to displease”.

The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *missil̥h* (Starck and Wells 1990: 417) “verschieden, vielfältig, farbig”; OS *missil̥k* (Holthausen 1967: 238) “verschieden, zahlreich”; OE *mislic* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 238) “unlike, various, manifold; wandering, erratic”; ON *mislikr* (Fritzner II 1954: 711) “different”; Gothic *missaleiks* (Lehmann 1986: 257) “different, various, unlike”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **missaleikaz* “different, various, unlike”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

missi-(h)liuten “mißtönend, ungleich klingen, dißharmonisieren” (Raven I 1963: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-louben “ungläubig sein, nicht glauben = sündigen” (Raven I 1963: 119). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-mahhōn “verächtlich, geschwürig, häßlich sein” (Raven II 1967: 97). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mis-macian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 238) “to mar”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

missi-nuzzen “ausnutzen, mißbrauchen (z.B. von Frauen) Gebrauch machen, zurückweisen, geringschätzig behandeln” (Raven I 1963: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-pfadōn “einen falschen oder schlechten Weg gehen, den rechten Weg verfehlen” (Raven II 1967: 36). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-sezzēn “miss-, verstellen, verkehren” (Raven I 1963: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-trūēn, *missi-trūwēn* “(+dat. pers. et gen. rei) mißtrauen, mißtrauisch sein, in Verdacht haben, die Hoffnung verlieren, verzweifeln” (Raven II 1967: 265). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *mis-trūa* II (Fritzner II 1954: 717) “to mistrust, doubt the truth about”. Therefore a NWGmc prefix formation.

missi-wenten “verkehren, zerstören, ins Böse wenden, übel deuten, tadeln” (Raven I 1963: 258). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mis-wendan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 239) “to pervert, abuse; to be perverted, to err”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

missi-wirken “unrecht machen, auf fehlerhafte Weise handeln oder arbeiten” (Raven I 1963: 266). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missi-wonēn “übermütig oder stolz werden” (Raven II 1967: 276). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

missizumften “nicht übereinstimmen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 418). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *missizumft* (Starck and Wells 1990: 418) “Uneinigkeit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

missizumftōn “unharmonisch, verschieden oder ungleich sein” (Raven II 1967: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *missizumften*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

mistōn “mit Mist düngen, misten” (Raven II 1967: 105). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mist* (Starck and Wells 1990: 418) “Mist, Dünger, Kot”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

mittiferahen “die Lebensmitte erreichen, halbieren” (Raven I 1963: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mittiferahī* (Starck and Wells 1990: 420) “Mitte, Hälfte”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

miti-fuoren “mitführen” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

miti-sindōn “begleiten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 526). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

miti-spilōn “sich mit dem Syllogismus beschäftigen, sich ihrer bei Gerichtsverhandlungen treiben” (Raven II 1967: 142). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

miti-terien “?auseinanderreißen” (Starck and Wells 1990: 625). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

molawēn “(vom Körper) hinschwinden, verfaulen, sich verzehren” (Raven II 1967: 244). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **molawi* “Staub”, can be reconstructed from: cf. MHG *molawic* (Lexer I 1872: 2195) “weich, staubartig”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

mornēn “(+gen. rei vel pers.) sorgen, trauern, sich (be)kümmern, traurig, wehmütig oder tief betrübt sein” (Raven II 1967: 244). cf. OHG **murnen* I. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *mornōn*, *mornian* II (Heyne 1905: 291) “sich kümmern, sorgen, betrübt sein”; OE *murnan* st. vb, wk.vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 242) “to care, be anxious or fearful about; to hesitate; mourn, sorrow, bemoan; long after”; ON *morna* (Zoëga 1910: 301) “verwelken, verblühen”; Gothic *maurnan* III (Lehmann 1986: 248) “to worry, concern oneself”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **murnējanan* “to have cares, to be mindful of ones sorrows”, class III durative deverbative from strong verb **murnanan* (Seebold 1970: 351) “trauern”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *murnan* st. vb, wk.vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 242) “to care, be anxious or fearful about; to hesitate; mourn, sorrow, bemoan; long after”. Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

motezzen “anfangen, verursachen” (Raven I 1963: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably an intensive deverbative from an unattested source.

mūhhōn “heimlich lauern und ausrauben, Straßenraub treiben” (Raven II 1967: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mūhho* (Starck and Wells 1990: 423) “Wegelagerer, Straßenräuber”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

**mucken* “mucken”. NHG *mucken* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1132) “mit halb offenem Munde reden”. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *mucken* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1132) “den Mund kaum auf tun und halblaut murmeln”; MDu. *mokken* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1132); We can therefore reconstruct a WGmc **mukkjan* intensive gemination “mucken”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to represent a guttural extension which derives ultimately from IE $\sqrt{*mu-}$, **mū-* (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “(Schallnachahmung für den mit gepreßten Lippen erzeugten dumpfen Laut) undeutlich reden, unartikuliert murmeln” (see under *māwen*). This IE complex was extremely productive in the various daughter languages. The resulting derivational complexity consequently obscures the derivational profile of verbs belonging to this complex. Therefore, the safest etymology is to consider this verb an WGmc derivation. Therefore a WGmc verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

***muckazzen** “mucksen, mucken, kurz aufgeben”. MHG *muchsen* (Kluge 1989: 490) “mucksen”. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **mukkatjan* class I intensive deverbative from OHG weak verb **mucken* (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

mullen “zermalmen, zerreiben” (Raven I 1963: 314). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *myla* I (Fritzner II 1954: 758) “to crush”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **muljanan* (Seebold 1970: 345) “zermalmen”, class I intensive deverbative (with zero-grade ablaut) from strong verb **malanan* (Seebold 1970: 344) “mahlen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *malan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 344) “mahlen”; OS *gi-malan* preterite participle (Seebold 1970: 344) “gemahlen”; ON *mala* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 344) “mahlen”; Gothic *malan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 344) “mahlen”. Therefore a NWGmc intensive deverbative. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

multen “eggen, den Erdboden aufwühlen oder zerwühlen, die Erde oder Saat behaken, um das Unkraut herauszuschaffen, jäten” (Raven I 1963: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *multa* (Starck and Wells 1990: 423) “Melde”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

munden “münden” (Raven I 1963: 131). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mund* (Kluge 1989: 492) “Mund”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

mundilōn “anheben zu reden, aussagen, (Weihe) sprechen, einweihen” (Raven II 1967: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mund* (Starck and Wells 1990: 423) “Mund”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb (formed with l-extension).

munizōn “münzen, Geld prägen oder wechseln” (Raven II 1967: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mynetian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 243) “to coin”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **munetōjan* “to mint”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *muniz*, *muniz(z)a* (Kluge 1989: 493) “Münze”; OS *munita* (Kluge 1989: 493) “Münze”; OE *mynet* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 243) “coin, money”; ON *mynt* probably loan word from WGmc (Kluge 1989: 493) “Münze”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **munetō* “Münze”. < Latin *monēta* (Kluge 1989: 493) “Münze”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

muntaren “ermuntern, erschrecken, ein Grauen einjagen, wachhalten, wekken, auf-, erwecken, aufmuntern” (Raven I 1963: 132). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *muntar* (Kluge 1989: 493) “leicht, lebhaft, wach”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

muntōn “Schützer oder Schutz sein, einen beschützen, zielen” (Raven II 1967: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mundian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 242) “to protect, watch over, act as guardian of”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mundōjan* “to protect”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *munt* (Kluge 1989: 492) “Hand, schutz, Vormundschaft”; OS *mund* (Kluge 1989: 492). OE *mund* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 242) “hand; trust, security, protection, guardianship; protector; guardian; the king's peace”; ON *mund* (Kluge 1989: 492) “hand”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **mundō* (Kluge 1989: 492) “Hand, Schutz”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

muodēn “müde werden, ermüden, erschöpft werden” (Raven II 1967: 244). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mōðian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 235) “to grow weary”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mōðjējan* “to be or become tired”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *muodi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 424) “müde, ermattet, erschöpft”; OS *mōði* (Kluge 1989: 490) “müde”; OE *mōðe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 235) “tired, worn out, dejected, sad, troublesome”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mōðjaz* (Kluge 1989: 490) “müde”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

muoen “Mühe machen, bemühen, beunruhigen, bedrängen, abmühen, ermühen, belästigen, beschweren, quälen, bekümmern, verdrießen, jemandem etwas antun, heimsuchen, ermüden, ermatten, müde machen” (Raven I 1963: 132). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *mōien*, *moigen* (Kluge 1989: 491) “bemühen, belästigen”; MDu. *moeyen* (Kluge 1989: 491) “bemühen, belästigen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mōjanan* (Kluge 1989: 491) “sich anstrengen, sich bemühen, mühen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*mō-}$, **mo-lo-* (Pokorny I 1956: 746) “sich mühen”. From which base the following may also be derived: OHG *muodi* (Pokorny I 1956: 746) “müde, ermattet, erschöpft”; Gothic *af-mauīþs* (Pokorny I 1956: 746) “ermüdet”; Russ. *máju* (Pokorny I 1956: 746) “ermüden, plagen”; Lith. *pri-si-muoletī* (Pokorny I 1956: 746) “sich abmühen”; Latin *mōlēs* (Pokorny I 1956: 746) “Last, Masse”; Latin *molestus* (Pokorny I 1956: 746) “verdrießlich, lästig, beschwerlich”; Greek *μῶλος* (Pokorny I 1956: 746) “Anstrengung, Mühe”. Despite the confinement of attested forms to WGmc and the absence of verbal forms in the IE parallels given above, there are sufficient data to allow for the reconstruction of an IE adjective “tired, exhausted”. This adjective can then be seen to be the etymon for a pre-Gmc deadjectival verb. The verb can therefore be assigned to a pre-Gmc stratum.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *hina-*

muosen “essen, kauen, speisen, füttern, verzehren” (Raven I 1963: 133). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *mēsan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 234) “to eat”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mōsijan* “to eat”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *muos* (Starck and Wells 1990: 425) “Essen, Speise, Mus”; OS *mās* (Kluge 1989: 493) “Speise, Essen”; OFs. *mās* (Kluge 1989: 493) “Speise, Essen”; OE *mās* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 241) “food, victuals”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mōsan* (Kluge 1989: 493) “Zukost”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

muot-brehhōn “den Mut verlieren” (Raven II 1967: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *muot* (Kluge 1989: 494) “Verstand, Seele, Geist, Gefühl”; cf. OHG *brehhōn* II (Seebold 1970: 133) “bedrücken, heimsuchen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

muoten “verlangen” (Raven I 1963: 133). No cognate verbs are attested. As cognate verbs in the other Gmc languages belong with the class II verb, this verb is best considered a class I deverbative from the class II verb *muotōn* (which see). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *widar-*

muotezzen “äußern” (Starck and Wells 1990: 426). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **mōdatjan* “to express an intention or desire”, class I intensive deverbative from OHG *mouten* I (which see) or *muotōn* II (which see). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

muotfagōn “willfahren” (Raven II 1967: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *muotfaga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 426) “Genugtuung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

muotōn “begehren, verlangen” (Raven II 1967: 106). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *mōdōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 426) “begehren, verlangen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **mōdijan* “to desire, intend, have courage to”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *muot* (Starck and Wells 1990: 425) “Verstand, Seele, Geist, Gefühl; Herz; Gemütsfassung; Erregung, Leidenschaft; Neigung, Verlangen, Absicht; Mut”; OS *mōd* (Kluge 1989: 494) “Mut, Gemüt, Verstand, Seele, Geist, Stimmung, Hochmut, Übermut”; OFs. *mōd* (Kluge 1989: 494) “Mut, Gemüt, Seele, Geist, Stimmung, Hochmut, Übermut”; OE *mōd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 239) “heart, mind, spirit, mood, temper; courage; arrogance, pride; power, violence”; ON *móðr* (Kluge 1989: 494) “aufgeregter Sinn, Zorn”; Gothic *moþs* (Kluge 1989: 494) “Mut, Zorn”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **mōðaz* “heart, mind, spirit, mood, courage, intention”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

muot-spilōn “überlegen, vertraulich bei sich plaudern” (Raven II 1967: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *muot* (Kluge 1989: 494) “Verstand, Seele, Geist, Gefühl”; cf. OHG *spilōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 575) “spielen, ausgelassen sein, bespielen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

**muot-sprangōn, muot-sprangōnto* “frohlockend” (Starck and Wells 1990: 426). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *muot* (Kluge 1989: 494) “Verstand, Seele, Geist, Gefühl”; cf. OHG *sprangōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 575) “aufspringen, vor Freude springen, pulslen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (occurring only in adverbial present participle form).

muoz “können, müssen” (Seebold 1970: 354). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *mōt* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 354) “können, vermögen, sollen”; OFs. *mōt* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 354) “können, vermögen”; OE *mōt* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 354) “to be able to, can, may, to be obliged, should, ought to”; Gothic *ga-mot* pret.-pres. (Seebold 1970: 354) “Raum haben, Raum finden”. These allow us to reconstruct a preterite-present verb **mōt* (Seebold 1970: 354) “kann”. This verb can be traced back to the extended ablaut grade, *ō*, of the IE *√med-* (Pokorny I 1956: 705) “messen, ermessen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *masti* (Pokorny I 1956: 705) “das Messen, Wägen”; Greek μέδομαι (Pokorny I 1956: 705) “ich bin worauf bedacht”; Latin *meditor* (Pokorny I 1956: 705) “worüber nachdenken”; Latin *modus* (Pokorny I 1956: 705) “Maß, Art und Weise”; OIr. *midiur* (Pokorny I 1956: 705) “cogito, iudico”; OIr. *airmed* (Pokorny I 1956: 705) “Maß”; MWelsh *medu* (Pokorny I 1956: 705) “imstande sein, beherrschen”; OHG *mezzan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 705) “messen”; Gothic *mitan* st. vb (Pokorny I 1956: 705) “messen”. Therefore a Pre-Gmc primary verb (preterite-present).

muozzōn “freie Zeit oder Muße haben, sich frei machen von, sich herbeilassen zu, sich widmen, (impers.) es ist Zeit, ist gestattet” (Raven II 1967: 106). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *muozza* (Starck and Wells 1990: 426) “Muße, Freiheit, Möglichkeit”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

murden “morden, strafen, bestrafen” (Raven I 1963: 133). The following cognate verbs are attested: ON *myrða* I (Lehmann 1986: 249) “to murder, kill”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **murþijanan* “to murder, kill”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mord* (Starck and Wells 1990: 421) “Mord”; OS *morth* (Kluge 1989: 488) “Mord”; OFs. *morth* (Kluge 1989: 488) “Mord”; OE *morð* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 241) “death, destruction, homicide, murder”; ON *morð* (Kluge 1989: 488) “Mord”, which allows us to

reconstruct a NWGmc **murþaz* (Kluge 1989: 488) “murder, homicide”. Therefore a NWGmc denominative verb.

murðiren, murðren “morden, ermorden, erlegen” (Raven I 1963: 133). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ā-myrðian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 19) “to murder, kill”; Gothic *maurþrjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 249) “to kill, murder”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **murþrijanan* “to murder, kill”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OE *morðor* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 241) “deed of violence, murder, homicide, manslaughter; mortal sin, crime”; Gothic *maurþr* (Kluge 1989: 488) “murder”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **murþran* “murder, homicide”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

murmulōn “murren, murmeln, mürrisch” (Raven II 1967: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **murmulojan* “murmeln”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably an 'l'-extension variant of the weak verb **murmurōjan* (for an etymology of which see under *murmurōn*). Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

murmurōn “flüstern, munkeln, murmeln, murren” (Raven II 1967: 107). The following cognate verbs are attested: Mod.Eng. *to murmur*, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **murmurōjan* “murmeln”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It appears to be a formation from the reduplicating IE $\sqrt{*mormor}$, **murmur* (Pokorny I 1956: 748) “(Schallwort) murmeln, dumpf rauschen”. From which base the following may also be derived: ON *murra* (Pokorny I 1956: 748) “brummen, murmeln”; OCS *mr̃mrati* (Pokorny I 1956: 748) “murmeln”; Lith. *murmlėnti, murménti* (Pokorny I 1956: 748) “murmeln”; Latin *murmurāre* (Pokorny I 1956: 748) “murmeln”; Skt *marmara-* (Pokorny I 1956: 748) “rauschend; das Rauschen”; Skt *murmura-* (Pokorny I 1956: 748) “knisterndes Feuer”; Arm. *mr̃mram, mrmrim* (Pokorny I 1956: 748) “ich murre, murme, brülle”. This verb may represent a (Wanderwort). Attested forms of the verb are also confined to WGmc. Nevertheless, the IE parallels seen above offer sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

**murnen* “betrüben, trauern”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *mornian* I (Seebold 1970: 352) “trauern, sich sorgen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **murnjan* class I deverbative from strong verb **murnanan* (Seebold 1970: 351) “trauern” (see under *mornēn*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

**musken* “stoßen, zerschlagen, zerquetschen, verstümmeln”. MHG *müschēn* (Lexer I 1872: 2257) “stoßen, zerschlagen, quetschen”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *myscan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 244) “to injure, afflict, offend”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **muskjan* “to injure, afflict”. Further etymology unclear.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-, zi-*

mussen, gi-musit- “bemoost, mit Moos bedeckt” (Starck and Wells 1990: 428). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-mussit-* preterite participle (Starck and Wells 1990: 428) “mit Moos bedeckt”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *mos* (Starck and Wells 1990: 422) “Moos, Moor, Sumpf”; MDu. *mose* (Kluge 1989: 487) “Moos, Moor, Sumpf”; OE *mos* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 241) “bog, marsh”; ON *mosi* (Kluge 1989: 487) “Moos, Moor”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **musaz, *musan, *musōn* (Kluge 1989: 487) “Moos, Moor”. Therefore a WGmc denominative preterite participle construction.

mutilōn “murmeln” (Raven II 1967: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **mutilojan* “to murmur”. The exact phonology of this verb is unclear. It may be a frequentative deverbative formed with an 'l'-extension, from an earlier dental extension to IE

√*mu-, *mū- (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “(Schallnachahmung für den mit gepreßten Lippen erzeugten dumpfen Laut) undeutlich reden, unartikulierte murmeln”. From which base the following may also be derived: OHG *māwen* (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “schreien”; MHG *mūhen*, *mūgen*, *mūwen* guttural extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “brüllen”; MLG *mucken* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1132) “den Mund kaum auf tun und halblaut murmeln”; East Fs. *muk* g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 752) “Kuß”; Mid.Engl. *mūten* t-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “to mutter”; Norw. *mua* (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “schweigen, nicht mucksen”; OCS *mykь* guttural extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “Gebrüll”; Latin *mutire* t-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “mucksen”; Latin *mūgire* g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “brüllen”; Umbrian *mueto* g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “mttūtum”; Greek μύ, μῦ (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “Ausruf gepreßten Schmerzes”; Greek μύζω g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “ich bringe mit geschlossenen Lippen einen Laut hervor, stöhne”; Greek μυκάομαι (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “ich brülle”; Skt *muñjati*, *mojati* g-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 751) “gibt einen Ton von sich”. This analysis is somewhat contorted and be no means certain. It does not allow for the reconstruction of a pre-Gmc verb. Therefore an OHG verb (formed with l-extension), the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

muzōn “wechseln, verändern, sich versteckt halten, lauern, mausern” (Raven II 1967: 107). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *mutāre* (Schade I 1882: 633) “wechseln, verändern”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

*muzzen*¹ “verleumden, afterreden, (mit der Zunge) Verleumdung umhertragen, betrügen” (Raven I 1963: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

*muzzen*² “putzen, reinigen” (Pokorny I 1956: 742). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **mutjanan* “putzen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It is probably a dental extension from IE √*meu-, *meuə-, *mu- (Pokorny I 1956: 741) “feucht, moderig, unreine Flüssigkeit (auch Harn); beschmutzen; waschen, reinigen”. From which base the following may also be derived: MLG *mūten* d-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 742) “das Gesicht waschen”; Mod.Du. *mot* d-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 742) “feiner Regen”; Swed. (dial.) *muta* d-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 742) “fein regnen”; OCS *myjo*, *myti* (Pokorny I 1956: 741) “waschen, spülen”; Mlr. *mún* (Pokorny I 1956: 741) “Harn, Urin”; Mlr. *muad* d-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 741) “rein, stolz”; Greek μύζω d-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 741) “saugt”; Greek (Cypriot) μυλάσασθαι (Pokorny I 1956: 741) “sich waschen”; Avest. *mūθra-* (Pokorny I 1956: 741) “Unreinigkeit, Schmutz”; Skt *mutram* (Pokorny I 1956: 741) “Harn”; Skt *mudirah* d-extension (Pokorny I 1956: 741) “Wolke”. Attested forms of the verb are confined to OHG. Nevertheless, the dental extension exhibited by this verb is also present in a number of the IE forms given above. This points to a pre-Gmc origin for the verb.

N

nāen, neigen “nähen, flicken, verbessern, ausbessern, spinnen, schneiden” (Raven I 1963: 134). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *neien, neigen* (Kluge 1989: 498) “nähen”; MDu. *n(a)eyen* (Kluge 1989: 498) “nähen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **nējanan* (Kluge 1989: 498) “nähen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE $\sqrt{*(s)nē-}$, $*(s)nēi-$ (Pokorny I 1956: 973) “Fäden zusammendrehen, mit dem Faden hantieren, (daher) weben, spinnen, nähen”, from which base the following may also be derived: ON *snælda* (Pokorny I 1956: 973) “Handspindel”; Mlr. *snid* (Pokorny I 1956: 973) “dreht; bindet, quält, müht sich ab”; Welsh *nyddu* (Pokorny I 1956: 973) “nähen”; Latvian. *snāju, snāt* (Pokorny I 1956: 973) “locker zusammendrehen, spinnen”; Russ. *nitb* (Pokorny I 1956: 973) “Faden”; Latin *nēre* (Pokorny I 1956: 973) “spinnen”; Greek *-veiv* (Pokorny I 1956: 973) “spinnen”; Skt *snāyu-* (Pokorny I 1956: 973) “Band, Sehne”. Despite the fact that attested forms of the verb are confined to WGmc, these IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-, gi-, widar-*

(h)naffezen “schlafen, schlummern, schläfrig sein, träumen, die Augen (im Schläfe oder vor dem Lichte) schließen” (Raven I 1963: 134). No cognate verbs are attested. We can reconstruct an earlier form **hnappatjan* intensive deverbative from a class II weak verb **hnappōjan* “einnicken, schlummern” and attested in OE *hnappian*, *hnæppian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 188) “to doze, slumber, sleep”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

nagalen, negilen “(an)nageln, kreuzigen, mit Nägeln befestigen, vernageln” (Raven I 1963: 134). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *neglian* I (Kluge 1989: 497) “annageln”; OE *næglian* II, but probably by levelling from class I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 245) “to nail, fasten with nails”; ON *negla* I (Kluge 1989: 497) “annageln”; Gothic *ga-nagljan* I (Lehmann 1986: 145) “to nail on”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **naglijanan* “to nail, fasten with nails”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nagal* (Starck and Wells 1990: 429) “Nagel, Pflock, Riegel”; OS *nagal* (Kluge 1989: 497) “Nagel”; OFs. *neil, nē* (Kluge 1989: 497) “Nagel”; OE *næg(e)l* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 245) “nail, peg; finger-nail, toe-nail, claw”; ON *nagl* (Kluge 1989: 497) “Fingernagel”; ON *nagli* (Kluge 1989: 497) “Eisennagel”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **naglaz* (Kluge 1989: 497) “Nagel”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *int-*

(nāh-)bi-soufen “ersäufen, ertränken, ertrinken, nach unten schleifen, begraben, fortreiben” (Raven I 1963: 194). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nāhen “näher-, herankommen, fortpflanzen, nahen, sich nahen oder nähern” (Raven I 1963: 135). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *nāhian* I (de Vries 1962: 403) “nähen”; Gothic *nehwjan* I (de Vries 1962: 403) “to near”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **nēhwijanan* “to near, approach, come near, come close”. cf. OE *ge-nēahwian*, *ge-nēan* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 247) “to draw near, come near, approach, cleave to, adhere”. cf. ON *ná* II (Fritzner II 1954: 777) “nahen; einholen, erreichen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nāh* (Starck and Wells 1990: 430) “nah, in der Nähe, angrenzend”; OS *nāh* (Kluge 1989: 498) “nah”; OE *nēah* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 246) “near, high, close; late”; ON *ná* (Kluge 1989: 498) “nah”; Gothic *nehw* (Kluge 1989: 498) “near, close by”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **nēhwaz* (Kluge 1989: 498) “nah”. Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *dara-, gi-, zuo-*

nāh-ferren “hintennachgleiten” (Raven I 1963: 293). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nāh-folgēn “nachfolgen, (von der Schriftsprache) vollkommen elegant und folgerichtig sein” (Raven II 1967: 215). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nāh-fuoren “nachfolgen” (Raven I 1963: 50). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nāhlīhōn “nahren, sich nähern” (Raven II 1967: 108). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nāhlīho* adv. (Starck and Wells 1990: 430) “beinahe, fast”. Therefore an OHG deadverbial verb.

nahtēn “Nacht werden, nachten” (Raven II 1967: 245). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *nihtian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 250) “to become night, grow dark”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **nahtējan* “to become night, grow dark”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *naht* (Starck and Wells 1990: 430) “Nacht”; OS *naht* (Kluge 1989: 497) “Nacht”; OS *naht* (Kluge 1989: 497) “Nacht”; OFs. *nacht* (Kluge 1989: 497) “Nacht”; OE *niht*, *naeht*, *nyht* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 250) “night, darkness”; ON *nátt*, *nótt* (Kluge 1989: 497) “Nacht”; Gothic *nachts* (Kluge 1989: 497) “night”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **nahts* fem. (Kluge 1989: 497) “night”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *duruh-*, *ubar-*

nāh-zottōn “nachzotteln” (Starck and Wells 1990: 768). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nackotōn “entblößen” (Raven II 1967: 107). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ge-nacodian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 244) “to lay bare, strip”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **nakwaðōjan* “to render naked, lay bare, strip”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nackot* (Starck and Wells 1990: 431) “nackt”; MLG *naket* (Kluge 1989: 497) “nackt”; OFs. *nakad*, *naked* (Kluge 1989: 497) “nackt”; OE *nacod* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 244) “naked, nude, bare; empty”; ON *nøkkviðr* (de Vries 1962: 414) “nackt”; OSwed. *naqvidher* (de Vries 1962: 414) “nackt”; Gothic *naqaps* (Kluge 1989: 497) “naked”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **nakwaðaz* (Kluge 1989: 497) “nackt”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

namōn “benamen, einen Namen geben, mit Namen anreden, nennen” (Raven II 1967: 108). The following cognate verbs are attested: The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *namōn* II (Lehmann 1986: 263). OFs. *namia* II (Lehmann 1986: 263). OE *namian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 246) “to name, mention; call, nominate, appoint”; beside OE *namian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 246) “to address, invoke”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **namōjan* “to name”. For nominal base see under *nemnen*). Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

narrezzen “töricht werden, abtrünnig werden” (Raven I 1963: 135). No cognate verbs are attested. Probably from OHG class III weak verb *ir-narrēn* (Raven II 1967: 245) “sich der Torheit überlassen”. Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

nascōn “naschen, Leckerei genießen” (Raven II 1967: 108). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *naschen* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1153) “heimlich an sich bringen, betteln”; NLG *gnaschen* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1153) “knabbern”; Dan. *naske* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1153) “Leckerbißen genießen”; Swed. (dial.) *naska* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1153) “Leckerbißen genießen”, which allows us

to reconstruct a NWGmc **(g)nagskōjanan* sk-present (Seebold 1970: 233) “naschen”, class II deverbative from strong verb **gnaganan* (< **ga-naganan*) (Seebold 1970: 233) “nagen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *gnagan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 233) “nagen”; OE *gnagan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 233) “to gnaw”; ON *gnaga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 233) “nagen”. Therefore a NWGmc deverbative formation.

nazzēn “(von Regen, Tau, Blut und desgleichen) naß, feucht sein oder werden” (Raven II 1967: 245). No cognate verbs are attested. For nominal base see under *nezzēn*. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ir-*

(h)negēn “sich stützen oder halten, die Belagerung” (Raven II 1967: 245). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hnigian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 188) “to bow down (the head)”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hnigwējan* (Seebold 1970: 266) “to be leaning, lean on”, class III durative deverbative from Gmc strong verb **hneigwanan* (Seebold 1970: 266) “sich neigen” (see under *(h)neigen*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-*

(h)neigen “neigen, (sich)verneigen, beugen, einbiegen, einwärts krümmen, nach innen beugen, (sich) senken, unterlegen, unterwerfen, aussetzen, preisgeben, vermeiden, wenden, wanken, richten” (Raven I 1963: 136). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-hnēgian* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 1160). OE *hnāegan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 187) “to bow down, bend, humble, curb, vanquish”; ON *hneigja* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 1160) “neigen, beugen”; Gothic *hnaiwjan* I (Seebold 1970: 266) “to humble”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **hnaigwejanan* (Seebold 1970: 266) “to humble, make to bow”, causative of strong verb **hneigwanan* (Seebold 1970: 266) “sich neigen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *(h)nīgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 266) “sich neigen”; OS *hnīgan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 266) “sich neigen, anbeten”; OFs. *hnīga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 266) “sich neigen, hinwenden”; OE *hnīgan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 188) “to bow oneself, bend, bow down; fall, decline, sink”; ON *hnīga* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 266) “sich neigen; sinken, fallen”; Gothic *hneiwan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 266) “to decline, stoop down, bow”. Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-gi-, gi-, int-, nidar-*

neimen “sprechen, sagen, drohen, verlangen, mit Worten meinen” (Raven I 1963: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology uncertain. Possibly alteration by metathesis of OHG weak verb *meinen* (Lexer II 1876: 51). Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, forabi-*

neizzen “plagen, bedrängen, verderben, verurteilen, verdammen, mißbilligen, erschöpfen, ruinieren, dörren, trocknen” (Raven I 1963: 137). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *nēzen* (Lehmann 1986: 146) “to torment”; OE *nāētan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 245) “to annoy, afflict, press upon, subdue, injure, destroy”; Gothic *ga-naitjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 146) “to treat shamefully”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **naitjanan* “to torment, annoy, afflict, subdue”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from the an IE $\sqrt{*neid-}$ (Pokorny I 1956: 760) “heruntermachen, schmähen”, from which base the following may also be derived: Skt *nindati* (Pokorny I 1956: 760) “schmähen, tadeln, verachten”; Greek *ὀνειδος* (Pokorny I 1956: 760) “Vorwurf, Schmach”; Greek *ὀνειδίζω* (Pokorny I 1956: 760) “ich schmähe”; Arm. *anizanem* (Pokorny I 1956: 760) “fluchen”; Lith. *nīdati* (Pokorny I 1956: 760) “verachten”; Latvian *nāst* (Pokorny I 1956: 760) “verachten”; Latvian *naīds, naīdus* (Pokorny I 1956: 760) “Haß, Feindschaft”. These IE parallels provide sufficient evidence to point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, zuo-gi-*

**necken* “necken, herausfordern”. MHG *necken, neggen* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1157) “reizen, beunruhigen, quälen, plagen”. No cognate verbs are attested. cf. Swed *nagga* (Pfeifer II 1989:

1157) “beißen, plagen”, which allows us to reconstruct a **(g)nakkjan* intensive gemination and devoicing “reizen, necken”, intensive deverbative from strong verb **gnaganan* (Seebold 1970: 233) “nagen” (see under *nascōn*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*

neckinzen “sterben” (Starck and Wells 1990: 434). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

nemmen, nemmen, nennen “nennen, namhaft machen, erwähnen, bezeichnen, für etwas halten, zu etwas rechnen, preisen, herausfordern, rufen, zusammenrufen, heißen, schimpfen, lästern, schmähen, berichten, meinen, schätzen, anrufen, benennen, segnen, beilegen (Namen)” (Raven I 1963: 137). cf. OHG *namōn* II (Raven II 1967: 108). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *nemnian* I (Kluge 1989: 502) “nennen”; OFs. *namna, nanna, nenna* I (Kluge 1989: 502) “nennen”; OE *nemnan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 248) “to name, call; enumerate; address, speak to; nominate; invoke; mention, relate”; ON *nefna* I (Kluge 1989: 502) “nennen”; Gothic *namnjan* I (Kluge 1989: 502) “to name”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **namnijanan* (Kluge 1989: 502) “nennen”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *namo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 432) “Name, Bezeichnung”; OS *nama* (Kluge 1989: 498) “Name”; OFs. *nama, noma* (Kluge 1989: 498) “Name”; OE *nama* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 245) “name; reputation; noun”; ON *nafn* (Kluge 1989: 498) “Namen”; Gothic *namo* (Kluge 1989: 498) “name”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **namōn* masc. n-stem (Kluge 1989: 498) “Name”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-, dara-, fir-, fora-, gi-*

nenden “sich wenden an, etwas von einem zu erlangen suchen, es (nur) von ihm erwarten, sich erheben, etwas im voraus annehmen, oder vermuten, (betasten, untersuchen), angreifen, zu erobern suchen” (Raven I 1963: 138). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *nādian* I (Lehmann 1986: 31) “sich wagen, streben”; OE *nēðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 249) “to venture on, dare, risk”; ON *nerma* I (Lehmann 1986: 31) “Lust haben, sich bereit erklären”; Gothic *ana-nanþjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 31) “to take courage, be bold, dare”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **nanþejanan* (Seebold 1970: 359) “to take courage”, deverbative formation from strong verb **nenþanan* (Seebold 1970: 359) “streben”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG **gi-nindan* attested only in preterite singular *gi-nand* (Seebold 1970: 359) “sich erkühnen, unternehmen”. Therefore a Gmc deverbative formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *ana-, gi-*

nerien “(am Leben) erhalten, ernähren, (er)retten, schützen, heilen, selig oder gesund machen, vom Verderben bewahren” (Raven I 1963: 314). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *nerian* I (Kluge 1989: 498) “erhalten, ernähren”; OFs. *nera* I (Kluge 1989: 498) “to save, rescue”; OE *nerian* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 248) “to save, rescue, liberate, preserve, defend, protect”; ON *næra* I, loan verb from Low German? (Seebold 1970: 360) “to nurse, refresh”; Gothic *nasjan* I (Kluge 1989: 498) “to save”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **nazejanan* (Seebold 1970: 360) “to cause to escape, free”, causative deverbative from strong verb **nesanan* (Seebold 1970: 359) “überstehen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *gi-nesan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 359) “genesen, davonkommen”; OS *gi-nesan* st. bv (Seebold 1970: 359). OE *nesan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 248) “to escape from, survive, be saved”; Gothic *ga-nisan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 359). Therefore a Gmc causative deverbative.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-, ir-*

nestōn “nisten, wohnen” (Raven II 1967: 108). cf. OHG *nisten* I (Raven I 1963: 142). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nest* (Kluge 1989: 502) “Nest”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

nezzen “befeuchten, (sich) benetzen, tränken, eintauchen, spülen, etwas zeitig beibringen, jemandem in etwas einweisen, überfluten, überschwemmen, dämpfen, dunsten, tauchen, naß

werden, betrunken" (Raven I 1963: 139). cf. OHG *nazzēn* III. The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG, MDu *netten* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 1165) "netzen"; Gothic *natjan* I (Kluge 1989: 503) "to moisten", which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **natijanan* "to moisten, make damp". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *naz* (Kluge 1989: 499) "naß"; OS *nat* (Lehmann 1986: 264) "naß", which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **nataz* (Kluge 1989: 499). cf. ON *Not* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1154) "Flußname". Therefore a Gmc deadjectival verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *duruh-*, *gi-*, *zi-*

nibulen "verdunkeln, sich verfinstern, erlöschen (des Augenlichtes), die Augen (im Schläfe, vor dem Lichte, aus Furcht) schließen, blinzeln" (Raven I 1963: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nebul* (Starck and Wells 1990: 433) "Nebel, Dunst". Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

nidar-bi-kēren "starr herabschauen" (Raven I 1963: 88). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-bi-zerren "das Augenlicht richten, schauen" (Raven I 1963: 277). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-blicken "niederblicken" (Raven I 1963: 10). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-bringen "schnüren, binden, hemmen, werfen, sich äußern" (Raven I 1963: 18). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-dūhen "hinstrecken" (Starck and Wells 1990: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidaren "(sich) erniedrigen, darniederdrücken, niedrigen, demütigen, verschmähen, verwerfen, verdammen" (Raven I 1963: 140). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OE *niðerian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 251) "to depress, abase, bring low, oppress; accuse; condemn". The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nidar* adv. (Starck and Wells 1990: 439) "unten, nieder, herunter". Therefore an OHG deadverbial formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*

nidar-fir-scurgen "hinabstürzen" (Raven I 1963: 188). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-gi-kēren "senken, beugen, niederkehren" (Raven I 1963: 89). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-gi-sezzan "niedersetzen, -legen" (Raven I 1963: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-gi-welzen "sich hinwerfen oder niederwerfen" (Raven I 1963: 255). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-haldēn "niederlassen, zurückfallen" (Raven II 1967: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-hangēn "niederhangen, niedergebeugt sein, herabhangend" (Raven II 1967: 225). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-helden "beugen, sich beugen, neigen, senken" (Raven I 1963: 68). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-henken “zu Boden strecken oder werfen” (Raven I 1963: 69). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-leggen “niederlegen, niederwerfen, sich hinlegen” (Raven I 1963: 312). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-(h)neigen “sich niederbeugen, niederneigen” (Raven I 1963: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-(h)nicken “zusammangezogen, gebogen, bedecken, übertölpeln, biegen” (Raven I 1963: 142). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-rucken “sich nach unten bewegen” (Raven I 1963: 161). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-senken “niedersenken, niederdrücken” (Raven I 1963: 169). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-senten “niedersenden” (Raven I 1963: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-sezzen “niedersetzen, -legen, -werfen, stranden lassen” (Raven I 1963: 176). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *nithar-settian* I (Starck and Wells 1990: 519) “hinstellen, im Stich lassen”. Therefore a WGmc prefix formation.

nidar-scouwōn “herabschauen, hochmütig verachten” (Raven II 1967: 136). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-screcken “vernichten (oder verwirren)” (Raven I 1963: 184). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-scricken “hinabspringen, -steigen” (Raven I 1963: 185). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-snipfen “den Kopf niederbeugen” (Raven I 1963: 193). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

nidar-spreiten “niederwerfen, vernichten” (Raven I 1963: 197). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-starēn “starr blicken, starr niederblicken” (Raven II 1967: 258). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-strecken “(von einer Wunde) hingestreckt, niederstrecken” (Raven I 1963: 209). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-sucken “sinken” (Raven I 1963: 213). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear.

nidar-wagōn “sich senken, = sich dem Ende (dem Tode) nähern” (Raven II 1967: 170). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nidar-wegen “sich senken = sich dem Ende (dem Tode) nähern” (Raven I 1963: 329). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

nīdōn “hassen, (be)neiden, mißgünstig oder eifersüchtig ansehen” (Raven II 1967: 109). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nīd* (Starck and Wells 1990: 438) “Neid, Haß”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

nigōn “neigen, nicken, sich niederbücken” (Raven II 1967: 109). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *hnigian* II, originally class III? (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 188) “to bow down (the head)”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **hnigwōjan*, class II zero-grade deverbative formation from strong verb **hneigwanan* (Seebold 1970: 266) “sich neigen” (see under *(h)neigen*). Therefore a WGmc deverbative formation.

(h)nicken “nicken, zusprechen, zuerkennen, günstig verurteilen, sich neigen, hinneigen, abweichen, nach innen beugen, streichen” (Raven I 1963: 141). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hnikkjan* intensive gemination and devoicing (Seebold 1970: 266) “nicken”, zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **hneigwanan* (Seebold 1970: 266) “sich neigen” (see under *(h)neigen*). Therefore an OHG deverbative formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *fir-*, *gi-*, *int-*, *nidar-*

niotōn “(+gen.) in Fülle genießen, sich erfreuen, sich befleißigen, streben nach, erpicht sein auf” (Raven II 1967: 109). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *gi-niudōn*, *gi-niodōn* II (Schade I 1882: 652) “sich an etwas erfreuen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **neudōjan* “to look forward to, strive to”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *niot* (Starck and Wells 1990: 441) “Verlangen, Begierde”; OS *niud* (Schade I 1882: 651) “Verlangen”; OFs. *niod* (Schade I 1882: 651) “Verlangen”; OE *neod*, *nēd* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 248) “desire, longing; zeal, earnestness; pleasure, delight”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **neudaz* “desire, longing”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

nisten “nisten, Nester bauen” (Raven I 1963: 142). cf. OHG *nestōn* II (Raven II 1967: 108). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *nistan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 250) “to build nests”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **nistijan* “to nest, build a nest”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nest* (Kluge 1989: 505) “Nest”; MLG, Mdu. *nest* (Kluge 1989: 505) “Nest”; OE *nest* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 244) “nest; young bird, brood”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **nistan* (Kluge 1989: 505) “Nest”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

niūmōn “Töne ohne Worte oder jubelnd singen, jauchzen” (Raven II 1967: 109). The following cognate verbs are attested: cf. OE *nēomian* II probably an independant formation (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 248) “to sound sweetly”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *niūmo* (Starck and Wells 1990: 442) “Gesang, Ton” < Med.Latin *neuma*, *pneuma* (Niermeyer 1976: 811) “melody, note in music, group of notes sung in one breath” < Greek *πνεῦμα* (Pokorny I 899) “Atem, Hauch”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

niunōn “neunen, in neun Teile zerlegen” (Raven II 1967: 109). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *niun* cardinal numeral (Starck and Wells 1990: 442) “neun”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

**niu-pflanzōn*, *niu-pflanzōt-* “neu angepflanzt, Ölbaumschosse” (Raven II 1967: 109). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *niuwi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 442) “neu, jung, frisch”; cf. OHG *pflanzōn*, *flanzōn* (Starck and Wells 1990: 462) “pflanzen, einsetzen, fortpflanzen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation (occurring only in preterite participle form).

niusen “versuchen, sich abmühen, erstreben, erlangen” (Raven I 1963: 142). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *niusian* I (Lehmann 1986: 71). OE *nēosan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 248) “to search out, find out, inspect; visit, go to; attack, visit with affliction”; ON

nýsa I (Lehmann 1986: 71) “untersuchen, spähen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **neusjanan* “untersuchen, spähen; versuchen”. The derivational pattern of this verb is unclear. It can ultimately be derived from an IE (Gmc and Slavonic only) $\sqrt{*neu-s-}$ with variant **neu-ks-* (Pokorny I 1956: 768) “wittern, schnüffeln, (woraus) aufspüren, auskundschaften”, from which base the following may also be derived: OE *nosu* (Pokorny I 1956: 768) “Nase”; Gothic *bi-niuhsjan* I (Pokorny I 1956: 768) “to spy out, lie in wait for”; Norw. *nosa* (Pokorny I 1956: 768) “wittern”; Norw. *nús* (Pokorny I 1956: 768) “Geruch, Witterung”; Norw. *nuska* (Pokorny I 1956: 768) “suchen”; OCS *njukati* (Feist 1923: 69) “hortäri”; Russ. *njúchatb* (Pokorny I 1956: 768) “schnüffeln, riechen”; Serbian *nosu* (Pokorny I 1956: 768) “schnüffeln”. Despite the paucity of parallels outside Gmc, the ablaut 'e'-grade exhibited by this verb together with its simple unextended structure point to a pre-Gmc origin for this verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *bi-*, *ir-*

niu-sezzan “(ein-)setzen, legen, (auf-)stellen, hingeben, pflanzen, stiften, begründen, errichten, Gesetze geben oder vorschreiben, büssen” (Raven I 1963: 176). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

niuwōn “neu machen, erneuern, abstumpfen, ein Auge zudrücken” (Raven II 1967: 109). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *nīwian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 251) “to renew, restore”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **neujōjan* “to renew, make new”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *niuwi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 442) “neu, jung, frisch”; OS *niuwi* (Kluge 1989: 503) “neu”; OFs. *nīe* (Kluge 1989: 503) “neu”; OE *nīwe*, *nēowe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 251) “new, fresh, recent, novel”; ON *nýr* (Kluge 1989: 503) “neu”; Gothic *niujis* (Kluge 1989: 503) “new, unused”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **neujaz* (Kluge 1989: 503) “neu”. Therefore a WGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*, *widar-*

**(h)nopfōn* “abpflücken”. This verb can be reconstructed from the OHG prefix formation *aba-(h)nupfen* (which has presumably undergone a change of class to class I) and from the class II weak verb extant in OE *hnoppian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 188) “to pluck”. On this evidence, we can reconstruct a possible **hnuppjan* intensive gemination “abpflücken”, class II intensive deverbative from strong verb **hneupanan* (Seebold 1970: 269) “reißen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OE *ā-hnēapan* st. vb (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 16) “to pluck off”; OSwed. *niupa* st. vb (Söderwall 1973: 553) “to pinch, nip”; Gothic *dis-hniupan* st. vb (Seebold 1970: 269) “to break, tear”. Therefore a WGmc intensive deverbative.

nōtagōn “Gewalt antun, zusetzen, nötigen” (Raven II 1967: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nōtag*, *nōtīg* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1179) “in Not, bedrängt”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

nōhaftōn “bedrängen, quälen, leiden machen” (Raven II 1967: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nōthajt* adj. (Starck and Wells 1990: 445) “notleidend, gefangen”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

nōt-mezzōn “abgrenzen, genau bestimmen, definieren” (Raven II 1967: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *nōt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 444) “Zwang, Gewalt, Not”; cf. OHG *mezzōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 412) “ein Maß setzen, mäßigen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

nōten “zwingen, drängen, drücken, bedrücken, nötigen, hart zusetzen, bedrängen, ausfragen, verfolgen, jagen, treiben, passen, sich ziemen, bewegen, pressen, einsam machen” (Raven I 1963: 142). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *nōdian* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 1179)

“zwingen, nötigen”; OFs. *nēda* I (de Vries 1962: 408). OE *nēdan*, *nēdan*, *nīdan*, *nȳdan* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 1179) “to compel, force, urge, press”; ON *neyða* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 1179) “nötigen”; Gothic *naupjan* I (Pfeifer II 1989: 1179) “to exert compulsion on”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **naudijanan* “to compel, urge, press”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nōt* (Kluge 1989: 507) “Zwang, Not”; OS *nōd* (Kluge 1989: 507) “Zwang, Not”; OFs. *nēd*, *nōd* (Kluge 1989: 507) “Zwang, Not”; OE *nēad*, *nīd*, *nīed* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 249) “need, necessity, compulsion, duty; errand, business; emergency; harship, distress, difficulty, trouble, pain; force, violence; fetter”; ON *naud(r)* (Kluge 1989: 507) “Not”; Gothic *naups* (Kluge 1989: 507) “trouble, need, constraint”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **naudiz* fem. (Kluge 1989: 507) “Not, Zwang”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

(*h*)*notōn* “zerschlagen, schütteln, erschütteln” (Starck and Wells 1990:445). No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hnudōjan* (Seebold 1970: 268) class II ablaut zero-grade intensive deverbative from strong verb **hneudanan* (Seebold 1970: 268) “schlagen” (see under (*h*)*nutten*). Therefore an OHG intensive deverbative.

nōt-zogōn “notzüchtigen, entjungfern, gewalttätig behandeln; devirgino” (Raven II 1967: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. cf. OHG *nōt* (Starck and Wells 1990: 444) “Zwang, Gewalt, Not”; cf. OHG *zogōn* II (Starck and Wells 1990: 767) “schwanken, reißen”. Therefore an OHG prefix formation. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

(*h*)*nuoen* “hobeln, glätten; zusammengefügt” (Starck and Wells 1990: 446). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nuoa*, *hnuoa*, *nuoha* (Starck and Wells 1990: 446) “Fuge, Ritze, Nut”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

(*h*)*nutten* “schwingen, schütteln, rütteln” (Raven I 1963: 315). cf. OHG (*h*)*notōn* II. No cognate verbs are attested. We can therefore reconstruct a **hnudjan* (Seebold 1970: 268) class I zero-grade deverbative from strong verb **hneudanan* (Seebold 1970: 268) “schlagen”. This strong verb is attested in the following: OHG *bi-(h)notan* only present forms attested (Seebold 1970: 268) “abschlagen, befestigen”; ON *hnauð* st. vb pret. sg. (Seebold 1970: 268) “hämmern, nieten, schmieden”. Therefore an OHG deverbative formation.

nuzzen “nutzen; den Boden bebauen, Ackerbau treiben” (Raven I 1963: 143). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: see under *nuzzōn*. Therefore an OHG denominative verb. Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *missi-*

nuzzōn “ausnützen, benützen, Nutzen haben von, gebrauchen, genießen” (Raven II 1967: 110). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *nyttian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 254) “to enjoy, use; eat”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **nutjōjan* “to use, make use of”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *nuz* (Starck and Wells 1990: 447) “Nutzen, Gebrauch, Erfolg”; OHG *nuzzi* (Seebold 1970: 361) “Nutzen, Anwendung, Gebrauch, Ertrag”; OE *nyt* (Seebold 1970: 361) “use, utility, advantage; duty, office, employment; supervision, care”; ON *nyt* (Seebold 1970: 361) “Nutzen, Vorteil”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **nutjō* (Seebold 1970: 361) “Nutzen”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

O

oba-(h)linēn “gedeihen, hervorragen, wachsen” (Raven II 1967: 237). No cognate verbs are attested. Therefore an OHG prefix formation.

obarōn “die Oberhand haben, (be)siegen” (Raven II 1967: 110). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *obaro* adj (Starck and Wells 1990: 448) “ober, oberhalb”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

ōden “vernichten, veröden” (Raven I 1963: 144). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ȝeðan*, *ðan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 203) “to lay waste, ravage, devastate, destroy”; ON *eyða* I (de Vries 1962: 106) “verwüsten, vernichten”; Run.Dan. *aupi* (de Vries 1962: 106) “verwüsten, vernichten”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **aupjijanan* “to make barren or desolate, destroy”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ōdi* (Kluge 1989: 513) “öde”; OS *ōdi* (de Vries 1962: 18) “öde”; OE *ieðe* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 203) “barren, waste, desolate”; ON *auðr* (Kluge 1989: 513) “öde”; Gothic *aup(ei)s* (Kluge 1989: 513) “deserted, desolate”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **aupjaz* (Kluge 1989: 513) “öde”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fīr-*, *ir-*

ōdmuoten “erniedrigen, demütigen” (Raven I 1963: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ōdmuot(i)* (Starck and Wells 1990: 449) “demütig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

odmuotīgōn “erniedrigen” (Raven II 1967: 111). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *odmuotīg* (Schade I 1882: 664) “demütig”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

offanōn “eröffnen, kundtun, bekannt oder offen machen, an die Öffentlichkeit bringen, offenbar und verständlich machen, deuten, *reflex.* scheinen, sich zeigen, offenbar oder einleuchtend sein, offen oder frei stehen” (Raven II 1967: 111). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *opanōn* II (de Vries 1962: 419) “öffnen”; OFs. *epenia* II (de Vries 1962: 419) “öffnen”; OE *openian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 268) “to open (up), disclose, declare, reveal, expound”; ON *opna* II (de Vries 1962: 419) “öffnen”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **upenōjanan* “to open (up)”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *offan* (Starck and Wells 1990: 449) “offen, sichtbar, ersichtlich”; OS *opan* (Kluge 1989: 513) “offen”; OFs. *epen*, *open* (Kluge 1989: 513) “offen”; OE *open* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 268) “open, exposed; evident, well-known, public, manifest, plain, clear; open to re-trial”; ON *opin* (Kluge 1989: 513) “offen; auf dem Rücken liegend”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **upenaz* (Kluge 1989: 513) “offen”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *ir-*

offrōn, *offarōn* “Gott schenken, weihen, opfern” (Pfeifer II 1989: 1203). cf. OLF *offrōn* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1203); cf. OE *offrian* II (Pfeifer II 1989: 1203) “to offer, sacrifice, bring an oblation”. This verb represents a loan, via Gallo-Roman and Rheinland Church < ecclesiastical Latin *offerre* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1203) “Gott darbringen, weihen”. This, in turn, < Latin *offerre* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1203) “entgegentragen, anbieten, darbringen”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

opfarōn “opfern, als Opfer oder Opfergabe darbringen” (Raven II 1967: 112). No cognate verbs are attested. Via southern German Church < ecclesiastical Latin *operāri* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1203) “Gott ein Opfer bringen, Almosen spenden” < Latin *operāri* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1203) “beschäftigt sein, arbeiten, wirken, verrichten”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

ordinōn “(an)ordnen, in Ordnung bringen, zu etwas ordnungsmäßig bestimmen, regelrecht behandeln” (Raven II 1967: 112). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *ordināre* (Kluge 1989: 519) “ordnen”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

ortōn “beecken, begrenzen, endigen” (Raven II 1967: 113). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *orta* (Starck and Wells 1990: 453) “Rand, Ecke, Spitze”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

orzōn “bebauen” (Raven II 1967: 113). No cognate verbs are attested. No nominal base is attested in OHG, but compare Gothic *aurtja* (Lehmann 1986: 51) “husbandman, vintner”. This < Vulgar Latin **orto* (Lehmann 1986: 51) > Italian *orto* “garden”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

ōsen “verwüsten, verderben, zu vernichten suchen (= wüten gegen), plündern, verheeren, vertilgen, zerstören, zugrunde richten” (Raven I 1963: 144). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ōsi* (Starck and Wells 1990: 453) “Verwüstung, Verheerung”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *fir-*

**ōtagōn* “reich machen oder sein, bereichern”. The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *ēadigian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 92) “to count fortunate, call blessed; enrich, make happy”; ON *auðga* II (Fritzner I 1954: 91) “reich machen, bereichern”, which allows us to reconstruct a NWGmc **auðagōjanan* “to make rich”. cf. Gothic *audagjan* I (Lehmann 1986: 47) “to bless”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ōtag* (Starck and Wells 1990: 454) “reich, begütert, beschenkt”; OS *ōdag* (Holthausen 1967: 56) “reich”; OE *ēadig* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 92) “wealthy, prosperous; fortunate, happy, blessed, perfect”; ON *auðigr, auðugr* (Fritzner I 1954: 97) “reich”; Gothic *audags* (Lehmann 1986: 47) “blessed, fortunate”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **auðagaz* “rich”. Therefore a NWGmc deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ougazorahtōn “offenbaren, durch in die Augen leuchtende (göttliche) Erscheinung darstellen” (Raven II 1967: 113). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ougazoraht* (Schade II 1882: 1294) “hell, klar, deutlich”. Therefore an OHG deadjectival verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

ougen “(sich) zeigen, erzeugen, erscheinen, vor Augen bringen, zuschreiben, beimessen, offenbaren, ans Licht kommen, hervorbringen, Knospen oder Augen treiben, rekapitulieren, verkündigen, veröffentlichen, bedeuten, entdecken, bewahren, erstatten” (Raven I 1963: 144). The following cognate verbs are attested: OS *ōgian* I (de Vries 1962: 107) “zeigen”; OFs. *auwa, āwa* I (de Vries 1962: 107) “zeigen”; OE *īewan, ywan, ēowan* I (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 203) “to show, display, reveal, disclose, point out”; ON *eygja* I (Lehmann 1986: 48) “mit einer Schlinge versehen; die Augen richten”; Gothic *augjan* I (de Vries 1962: 107) “to show”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **augijanan* “to show, reveal, bring before the eyes”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *ouga* (Starck and Wells 1990: 455) “Auge”; OS *ōga* (Kluge 1989: 49) “Auge”; OFs. *āge* (Kluge 1989: 49) “Auge”; OE *ēage* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 93) “eye; aperture, hole”; ON *auga* (Kluge 1989: 49) “Auge”; Gothic *augo*

(Kluge 1989: 49) “eye”, which allows us to reconstruct a Gmc **augōn* (Kluge 1989: 49) “Auge”. Therefore a Gmc denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*, *gi-ir-*, *ir-*

P

pelzōn “pfropfen, (ein Fest) veranstalten” (Raven II 1967: 113). No cognate verbs are attested. From Latin *impellīāre* (Lexer I 1872: 176) “to cover with skins”, which in turn derives from Latin *pellīus* (Lewis and Short 1955: 1326) “covered with skins”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.

pfadōn, fadōn “gehen, wandern” (Raven II 1967: 36). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *pfad* (Kluge 1989: 538) “Pfad”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *missi-*

pfantōn, fantōn “zum Pfande nehmen” (Raven II 1967: 38). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *pfant* (Kluge 1989: 539) “Pfand”. < Late Latin *panna* (Kluge 1989: 539) shortened form from Latin *patina* (Kluge 1989: 539) “Schüssel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

pfīfōn “zwitschern, pfeifen” (Raven II 1967: 113). The following cognate verbs are attested: OE *pīpian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 273) “to pipe, blow an instrument”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **pīpōjan* “to pipe, blow an instrument” < Latin *pipāre* (Kluge 1989: 539) “pfeifen”. Therefore a WGmc loan verb.

pflanzōn, flanzōn “pflanzen, besäen, pflastern, vermehren” (Raven II 1967: 44). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *planten* (de Vries 1962: 426); OE *plantian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 273) “to plant”; ON *planta* II probable loan verb from LG (de Vries 1962: 426) “pflanzen”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **plantōjan* “to plant”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base; OHG *pflanza* (Kluge 1989: 540) “Pflanze, Sprößling”; MDu. *plante* (Kluge 1989: 540); OE *plante* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 273) “plant, shoot”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **plantō* “plant”. This noun is best regarded as a horticultural loan-word from Latin *planta* (Kluge 1989: 540) “Setzling, Sohle”, this latter, in turn, a nomen postverbalum from the Latin verb *plantāre* (Kluge 1989: 540) “die Erde um den Setzling (mit der Sohle) festtreten”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb. (Alternatively however, the verb may represent a loan verb direct from the Latin verb *plantāre*).

Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

pflockōn, plockōn “pflücken” (Raven II 1967: 114). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *plucken* (Onions 1966: 689) “pflücken”; MDu. *plocken* (Onions 1966: 689) “pflücken”; OE *plocian, pluccian* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 274) “to pluck, tear”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **plukkōjan* (Onions 1966: 689) “to pluck”. This is a WGmc loan < MLatin *piluccāre* (Kluge 1989: 541) “to pluck”. (cf. ON *plokka, plukka* (Onions 1966: 689) “pflücken”, which probably represents a loan verb from English or Low German). Therefore a WGmc loan verb.

pfriemen “(mit Dornen als Stecknadeln) Kleider zusammenheften oder befestigen” (Raven 1963: 146). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Possibly a loan verb, but no convincing source can be found. The verb is used to gloss Latin *conserere* (Lewis and Short 1966: 430) “to connect, entwine, tie, join, fit, bind into a whole”.

pfropfōn “pfropfen” (Raven II 1967: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *pfropfa* (Kluge 1989: 542) “Ableger”. < Latin *propāgo* (Kluge 1989: 542) “Ableger”. < Latin *propagāre* (Kluge 1989: 542) “ausdehnen, fortpflanzen”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

pimentōn “würzen, (Wein) würzen, Weihrauch, Würzwein, Wohlgeruch, aushauchen, schminken, insbesondere die Haare mit Fett glattschmieren” (Raven II 1967: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *pimentum* (Starck and Wells 1990: 464) “Schminke, Spezerei, Parfum” < Latin *pimentum* (Schade II 1882: 681) “Färbemittel, Kräutersaft zur Bereitung der Farbe, daher etwas Würziges oder Wohlriechendes”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.

pīnōn “foltern, peinigen, quälen, martern, strafen, sich plagen, verdammen” (Raven II 1967: 114). The following cognate verbs are attested: MLG *pīnen* (de Vries 1962: 425). OE *pīnian* II (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 273) “to torture, torment”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **pīnōjan* “to torture, torment”. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *pīna* (Starck and Wells 1990: 464) “Pein, Not, Marter”; OS *pīna* (Kluge 1989: 534) “Pein”; OFs. *pīna* (Kluge 1989: 534) “Pein”; OE *pīnecwalu* (Clark Hall and Meritt 1969: 272) “torture”, which allows us to reconstruct a WGmc **pīnō* “torture, pain, torment” < Late Latin *pēna* (Kluge 1989: 534) “Höllenstrafe, Höllenqualen” < Latin *poena* (Kluge 1989: 534) “Buße, Strafe” < Greek ποινή (Kluge 1989: 534) “Buße, Strafe”. Therefore a WGmc denominative verb.

***plumōn, gi-plumō-** “flaumfederartiges Gewand, d.h. weich wie Flaumfedern, Decken fertigen, d.h. mit wechselnden Fäden weben” (Raven II 1967: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **pluma* “Feder”, can be reconstructed from: LG *plūme* (Schade II 1882:684) “Feder” < Latin *plūma* (Schade II 1882: 684) “Feder”. Therefore an OHG denominative past participle construction.

pressōn “niederdrücken” (Starck and Wells 1990: 465). No cognate verbs are attested. < Latin *pressāre* (Kluge 1989: 561) “pressen”. Therefore an OHG loan verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

proventōn “ausstatten, versehen, speisen, einem Nahrung und Unterhalt geben” (Raven II 1967: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG *proventa* (Schade II 1882: 688) “Nahrung, Unterhalt” < M.Latin *provenda* (Schade II 1882: 688) “Nahrung, Unterhalt”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

prugilōn “abdecken mit Prügeln (?)” (Kluge 1989: 568). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG **prugil* “Stock, Knüppel”, can be reconstructed from: MHG *brügel* (Kluge 1989: 568) “Stock, Knüppel”. Therefore an OHG denominative verb.
Prefix formations derived from this verb: *gi-*

prīsten “sich tierisch benehmen, prusten” (Starck and Wells 1990: 470). No cognate verbs are attested. Etymology unclear. Probably from a Gmc complex of onomatopoeic origin. This complex appears to have centered on an initial *fr-* (with an emphatic variant *pr-*?) consonant cluster, with a basic meaning of panting, gasping for breath, sneezing, sniffing and, in general, noises produced by the nose, mouth or air-passage. Derivations from this complex include: ON *frýsa* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1335) “schnauben (von Pferden)”; ON *frusa* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1335) “schnauben (von Pferden)”; Swed. *frusta* (Pfeifer II 1989: 1335) “schnauben, schnaufen, prusten”. Compare the similar Gmc onomatopoeic complex centered on an initial *fn-* consonant cluster (see under *fnattōn*). Therefore an OHG verb, the derivational pattern of which is unclear.

purpurōn, gi-purpurō- “in Purpur gekleidet, mit Purpur angetan” (Raven II 1967: 114). No cognate verbs are attested. The verb is derived from the following nominal base: OHG

purpur(a) (Starck and Wells 1990: 465) “Purpur, kostbarer Seidenstoff” < Latin *purpura* (Kluge 1989: 571) “Purpur” < Greek πορφύρα (Kluge 1989: 571) “Purpur”. Therefore an OHG denominative past participle construction.